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SIR JOHN FROISSART'S

CHRONICLES

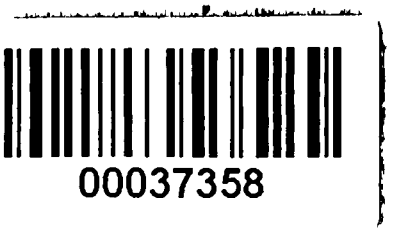
OF

ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN,

AND THE

ADJOINING COUNTRIES.

VOL. II.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SIR JOHN FROISSART'S

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN,

AND THE

ADJOINING COUNTRIES,

FROM THE LATTER PART OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD II.
TO THE CORONATION OF HENRY IV.

NEWLY TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH EDITIONS,
WITH VARIATIONS AND ADDITIONS FROM MANY CELEBRATED MSS.

By THOMAS JOHNES.

Who ſo ſhall telle a tale after a man,
He moſte reherſe, as neighe as ever he can,
Everich worde, if it be in his charge,
All ſpeke he never ſo rudely and ſo large;
Or elles he moſte tellen his tale untrewe,
Or feinen thinges, or finden wordes newe.

CHAUCER'S PROLOGUE.

THE THIRD EDITION.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,
A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, AN ESSAY ON HIS WORKS,
A CRITICISM ON HIS HISTORY,
AND A DISSERTATION ON HIS POETRY.

VOL. II.

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THE

THE

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN, &c.

CHAP. LXXXIII.

SIR WALTER MANNY DEFEATS THE LORD LEWIS OF SPAIN, AT QUIMPERLE.

WHEN the lord Lewis of Spain had embarked with his company, at the port of Guerrande, they ſailed towards lower Brittany, and came to the port of Quimperlé, which is near to Quimpercorentin and St. Mahé. They diſembarked, and began to pillage and deſtroy the country; where they found a great deal of riches, which they carried to their veſſels, and then ſet off to do the ſame in other parts, not finding any to oppoſe them.

As ſoon as this news was brought to ſir Walter Manny and ſir Amauri de Cliſſon, they had a great deſire to go after them; and having opened themſelves on this ſubject to ſir Yves de Treſiquidi, the governor of Guingamp, the lord of Landreman, ſir William de Cadoudal, the two brothers de Spinefort, and to all the other knights at Hennebon, they conſented cheerfully to follow them.

They immediately ſet off, embarking with them three thouſand archers, and never ſlackened ſail

until they came to the port where the veſſels of the lord Lewis were. They entered the harbour, killed all thoſe who guarded the veſſels, and were aſtoniſhed at the quantity of riches they found in them. They then diſembarked, and went to many places, burning the houſes and villages. Having divided themselves into three diviſions out of prudence, the more readily to find their enemies, and leaving three hundred archers to guard the veſſels and the riches they had taken, they ſet out after them by different roads.

News of this event was ſoon carried to the lord Lewis of Spain, who collected his army together, and began his retreat with great ſpeed towards his veſſels; but, meeting with one of the three diviſions, he ſaw he muſt fight, and put a good countenance upon it. He made many knights upon the occaſion, eſpecially his nephew named Alphonſo. When the lord Lewis and his party made their firſt onſet, it was ſo brilliant, numbers were unhorſed; and they would have carried the day, if the other two diviſions had not come up, alarmed by the noiſe and cries of the country people. The attack was then very ſerious, and the Engliſh archers performed ſo well, that the Genoeſe and Spaniards were diſcomfited, almoſt all being killed or wounded; for the country people purſued them with ſtones and ſlings, ſo that the lord Lewis had difficulty to eſcape, very badly wounded. He fled towards his veſſels; and of the ſix thouſand, which his army conſiſted of, he did not ſave more than about three hundred: he left dead his nephew, whom he much loved.

loved. When he came to his ſhips, he was prevented from entering them by thoſe archers who remained to guard the fleet. He then embarked, in the greateſt haſte, on board a veſſel called a *lique*, with as many of his people as he could collect together, and eſcaped with all poſſible expedition.

As ſoon as ſir Walter Manny and his party were come to the fleet, in purſuit of the lord Lewis, they embarked on board the firſt veſſels they found ready, and hoiſting every ſail, made after him, leaving thoſe of the country to take care of what remained of his army, to revenge themſelves, and recover what they had been robbed of. Sir Walter and his compaay had a favourable wind; but though they were within ſight, all the time, of the lord Lewis, they could not come up with him. His mariners made ſuch exertions that they got into the port of Redon, where he immediately landed, with all thoſe who had eſcaped; having entered the town, he made no long ſtay there; for the Engliſh had diſembarked, and were cloſe after, to fight with him; ſo he haſtened away, mounted upon ſuch horſes as he could borrow in the town, and made for Rennes, which was not far off. Thoſe who could not get any were obliged to do as well as they could, and follow their companions on foot. Many were ſo tired and badly mounted, that they fell into the hands of their enemies. The lord Lewis, however, made ſuch ſpeed that he got into Rennes; and the Engliſh and Bretons returned to Redon, where they repoſed themſelves that night.

On the morrow, they embarked, in order to return to the counteſs, their lady, at Hennebon; but they had contrary winds, which forced them to land about three leagues from the town of Dinant. They advanced into the country, deſtroying it as they marched, and taking what horſes they could lay hands on; ſo that ſome were mounted without ſaddles or bridles, and went forwards until they came to Roche Perion; when ſir Walter Manny, addreſſing his companions, ſaid, 'Gentlemen, I ſhould like much to attack this ſtrong caſtle, all fatigued as I am, if I had any to aſſiſt me, to ſee if we could not conquer it.' The other knights replied, 'Go on, ſir, boldly; we will follow you until death.' They then all ſet forward to the aſſault of the caſtle. The captain of it was Girard de Maulin; the ſame who had been priſoner at Dinant, as before related: he armed his people, and placing them upon the battlements and other parts of the defence, without ſheltering himſelf behind them, prepared for the aſſault. It was very ſharp and perilous: among many who were ſeverely wounded were, ſir John Boteler of Warrington and ſir Matthew Trelawney; inſomuch that they were obliged to be carried off, and laid in a field, with the other wounded.

CHAP. LXXXIV.

SIR WALTER MANNY TAKES THE CASTLE OF GOY LA FORET.

THIS Girard de Maulin had a brother of the name of Réné de Maulin, who was captain of another little fort, called Faouet, ſituated at leaſt half a league from Roche Perion. When Réné heard that the Engliſh and Bretons were attacking his brother, he armed forty of his companions, and ſet out for Roche Perion, to adventure his own perſon, and to ſee if by any means he could give aid to his brother. Réné therefore came ſuddenly upon thoſe knights and ſquires, who lay wounded in the field, attended by their ſervants; and, falling upon them, made them priſoners, and drove them before him to Faouet, wounded as they were. Some of their attendands fled to ſir Walter Manny, who was eagerly engaged at the aſſault: when they had informed him what had happened, he put an end to it, and with all his company, haſtened towards Faouet, in order to overtake thoſe who were carrying his friends away priſoners; but, with all his ſpeed, he was not in time to hinder Réné from entering his caſtle with them.

When the Engliſh and Bretons had come there, they directly made an aſſault, tired as they were; but they did little, for the garriſon defended themſelves valiantly, and the night was far advanced. They lay before it that night, in order to renew the aſſault the next day.

Girard de Maulin was ſoon informed of what was paſſing, and, mounting his horſe, ſet out alone for Dinant, where he arrived a little before day-break. He related to the lord Peter Portebœuf, governor of Dinant, the cauſe of his coming; who, when it was day, ſummoned all the citizens to the town-hall. Girard de Maulin there ſo eloquently diſplayed the reaſons of his arrival, that the citizens and ſoldiers were unanimous to aſſiſt him. All ſorts of people immediately armed themſelves, and ſet off towards Faouet in the beſt manner they could: in all, they were ſix thouſand perſons at leaſt.

Sir Walter Manny was informed of this by a ſpy; and, calling a council of his companions, they conſidered it would be beſt for them to retreat towards Hennebon; for their ſituation would be very dangerous, if thoſe from Dinant ſhould attack them on one ſide, and the army of the lord Charles of Blois on the other: they might be ſurrounded, and taken priſoners or ſlain. They therefore judged it moſt expedient, for the preſent, to leave their friends in priſon, and give up all thoughts of aſſiſting them till a better opportunity ſhould offer.

As they were returning to Hennebon, they paſſed near a caſtle, called Goy la Forêt, which, a fortnight before, had ſurrendered itſelf to the lord Charles. Sir Walter told his companions, he would not advance a ſtep farther, in ſpite of his fatigue, until he had made an aſſault on this fort, and ſeen who were within it. Then, hanging his target to his neck, he galloped up to the barriers and ditch of the caſtle, the Engliſh and Bretons following him.

him. The attack was ſharp, and thoſe within defended themſelves vigorouſly. Sir Hervé de Léon and ſir Guy de Goy were with the lord Charles before Carhaix. The aſſault laſting ſome time, ſir Walter encouraged his men, by poſting himſelf at their head in the moſt dangerous ſituations: the archers ſhot ſo dexterouſly, that thoſe within the caſtle dared not ſhew themſelves. Sir Walter and his party made ſuch exertions, that the ditches on one ſide were filled with ſtraw and wood, ſo that they could approach the walls; in which, with mallets and pick-axes, they made an opening ſix feet wide. They then entered through this opening, took the caſtle by ſtorm, and ſlew all that were within. They remained there that night; on the morrow they continued their march, and arrived at Hennebon.*

CHAP. LXXXV.

THE LORD CHARLES DE BLOIS TAKES THE TOWN OF CARHAIX.†

WHEN the counteſs of Montfort was informed of the return of the Engliſh and Bretons, ſhe went out to meet them, and moſt nobly thanked

* I ſuſpect, although the hiſtorian of Brittany copies Froiſſart exactly, that la Roche Perion muſt be Roſperden, which is in Bleau's map of Brittany; and Barnes calls it Roſterman: but I cannot find any where this Dinan, for Dinan le Sauveur is in the dioceſe of St. Malo, which muſt have been too far off. There is much confuſion in the names of places.

† Carhaix,—a town in the dioceſe of Quimper.

them with kiſſes and embraces: ſhe gave a grand dinner and entertainment to all the knights and ſquires of renown.

At this period, the lord Charles had conquered the town of Vannes, and was beſieging Carhaix. The counteſs and ſir Walter Manny ſent ſpecial meſſengers to king Edward, to inform him how the lord Charles of Blois, and the lords of France, had re-captured Rennes, Vannes, and many other large towns and caſtles in Brittany; and that, unleſs there were ſuccours ſpeedily ſent, they would gain the remainder of that duchy.

The ambaſſadors ſet out from Hennebon, and arrived at Cornwall, whence they journeyed towards Windſor.

We will now return to lord Charles of Blois, who had ſo preſſed the town of Carhaix by his attacks and his engines, that it was ſurrendered to him, the lives and fortunes of the inhabitants being preſerved. He pardoned what was paſſed, and the inhabitants ſwore homage and fealty to him, acknowledging him for their true lord.

Lord Charles placed new officers in the town, and remained there with the lords of France, to recruit themſelves and the army. He held a council upon marching to Hennebon, which being determined on, they beſieged it as cloſely as they were able. That town was very well provided with men, proviſions and ammunition.

The lord Lewis of Spain came to theſe lords the fourth day after they had begun the ſiege: he had remained at Rennes ſix weeks, in order to have his

his wounds properly attended to and cured. They were rejoiced to ſee him, as he was much eſteemed by theſe noblemen. The French army increaſed every day; for as great numbers of barons and knights were daily returning from the king of Spain, (who at that time was at war with the king of Granada and the Saracens,) in paſſing through Poitou, hearing of this war in Britanny, they turned their ſteps thither. The lord Charles had erected fifteen or ſixteen large engines before Hennebon, which threw great ſtones over the walls into the town: but thoſe within were not much alarmed at them, for they had taken every precaution to ſhelter themſelves againſt their effects: they frequently came to the walls and battlements, and, by way of joke, kept rubbing them, crying out, 'Go your ways, and ſeek for your friends who are ſleeping in the plains of Quimperlé;' which vexed mightily the lord Lewis of Spain, and the Genoese.

CHAP. LXXXVI.

SIR JOHN BOTELER AND SIR MATTHEW THRELAWNEY ARE RESCUED FROM DEATH.

THE lord Lewis of Spain came one day into the tent of lord Charles of Blois, where were numbers of the French nobility, and requeſted of him a boon for all the ſervices he had done him, and as a recompenſe for them.

The lord Charles promiſed to grant whatever he ſhould aſk, as he held himſelf under many obligations

tions to him. Upon which the lord Lewis deſired that the two priſoners, ſir John Boteler and ſir Matthew Trelawney, who were in the priſon of the caſtle of Faouet, might be ſent for, and delivered up to him, to do with them as ſhould pleaſe him beſt. 'This is the boon I aſk; for they have diſcomfited, purſued, and wounded me, have alſo ſlain the lord Alphonſo, my nephew, and I have no other way to be revenged on them than to have them beheaded in ſight of their friends who are ſhut up in Hennebon.'

The lord Charles was much amazed at this requeſt, and replied; 'I will certainly give you the priſoners, ſince you have aſked for them; but you will be very cruel and much to blame, if you put to death two ſuch valiant men; and our enemies will have an equal right to do the ſame to any of our friends whom they may capture, for we are not clear what may happen to any one of us every day. I therefore intreat, dear ſir and ſweet couſin, that you would be better adviſed.' Lord Lewis ſaid, that if he did not keep his promiſe, he would quit the army, and never ſerve or love him as long as he lived. When the lord Charles ſaw that he muſt comply, he ſent off meſſengers to the caſtle of Faouet, who returned with the two priſoners, and carried them to the tent of lord Charles.

Neither prayers nor intreaties could prevail on lord Lewis to deſiſt from his purpoſe of having them beheaded after dinner, ſo much was he enraged againſt them.

All

All the converſation, and every thing that paſſed between the lord Charles and lord Lewis, relative to theſe two priſoners, was told to ſir Walter Manny and ſir Amauri de Cliſſon by friends and ſpies, who repreſented the danger in which the two knights were. They bethought themſelves what was beſt to be done, but, after conſidering different ſchemes, could fix on none: at laſt ſir Walter ſaid, 'Gentlemen, it would do us great honour if we could reſcue theſe two knights: if we adventure it, and ſhould fail, king Edward would hold himſelf obliged to us; and all wiſe men, who may hear of it in times to come, will thank us, and ſay that we had done our duty. I will tell you my plan, and you are able to undertake it; for I think we are bound to riſk our lives in endeavouring to ſave thoſe of two ſuch gallant knights. I propoſe therefore, if it be agreeable to you, that we arm immediately, and form ourſelves into two diviſions: one ſhall ſet off, as ſoon after dinner as poſſible, by this gate, and draw up near the ditch, to ſkirmiſh with and alarm the enemy; who, you may believe, will ſoon muſter to that part; and, if you pleaſe, you, ſir Amauri de Cliſſon, ſhall have the command of it, and ſhall take with you a thouſand good archers, to make thoſe that may come to you retreat back again, and three hundred men at arms. I will have with me a hundred of my companions, and five hundred archers, and will ſally out at the poſtern on the oppoſite ſide privately, and coming behind them, will fall upon their camp, which we ſhall find unguarded. I will take with me thoſe who are

acquainted

acquainted with the road to lord Charles's tent, where the two priſoners are, and will make for that part of the camp. I can aſſure you, that I and my companions will do every thing in our power to bring back in ſafety theſe two knights, if it pleaſe God.'

This propoſal was agreeable to all; and they directly ſeparated, to arm and prepare themſelves. About the hour of dinner, ſir Amauri and his party ſet off; and having had the principal gate of Hennebon opened for them, which led to the road that went ſtraight to the army of lord Charles, they ruſhed forward, making great cries and noiſe, to the tents and huts, which they cut down, and killed all that came in their way. The enemy was much alarmed, and, putting themſelves in motion, got armed as quickly as poſſible, and advanced towards the Engliſh and Bretons, who received them very warmly. The ſkirmiſh was ſharp, and many on each ſide were ſlain.

When ſir Amauri perceived that almoſt the whole of the army was in motion, and drawn out, he retreated very handſomely, fighting all the time, to the barriers of the town, when he ſuddenly halted: then the archers, who had been poſted on each ſide of the ditch beforehand, made ſuch good uſe of their bows, that the engagement was very hot, and all the army of the enemy ran thither, except the ſervants.

During this time, ſir Walter Manny with his company iſſued out privily by the poſtern, and, making a circuit, came upon the rear of the enemy's camp;

camp: they were not perceived by any one, for all were gone to the ſkirmiſh upon the ditch. Sir Walter made ſtraight for the tent of lord Charles, where he found the two knights, ſir John Boteler and ſir Matthew Trelawney, whom he immediately mounted upon two courſers which he had ordered to be brought for them, and, returning as faſt as poſſible, entered Hennebon by the ſame way as he had ſallied forth. The counteſs came to ſee them, and received them with great joy.

The Engliſh and Bretons continued ſtill fighting at the barriers, where they gave their enemies ſufficient employment.

News was ſoon brought to the nobles of France, that the two knights had been reſcued; which when the lord Lewis heard, he was ſorely diſappointed, and inquired the way the Engliſh and Bretons, who had reſcued them, had taken: they informed him, that they had immediately returned, and were probably now in Hennebon. The lord Lewis, upon this, left the aſſault, and retired to his tent in deſpight; and all the reſt of the army began to retreat from the barriers.

In this combat, two knights of the counteſs's party were captured, who had adventured too far; the lord of Landreman and the governor of Guingamp; which gave the lord Charles much pleaſure. They were carried to his tent, where they were ſo effectually talked to, that they turned on his ſide, and ſwore homage and fealty to him.

Three days after, there was a council of all the nobles held in lord Charles's tent, to conſider what,

was beſt to be done; for they ſaw that the town and caſtle of Hennebon was too well provided with men and proviſions for them to expect to make any impreſſion there: and, on the other hand, the country round about was ſo deſtroyed that they had difficuly in finding forage: winter was alſo approaching. They therefore determined to ſeparate; and they earneſtly adviſed lord Charles to place ſufficient garriſons, with able and valiant captains, in all the caſtles and towns he had taken, to prevent his enemies from re-conquering them: they agreed, that if any perſon ſhould interfere, and propoſe a truce, to laſt until Whitſuntide, they would readily conſent to it.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS TAKES THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF JUGON*.

ALL the army agreed to what this council had determined upon; for it was between the feaſts of St. Remy and All ſaints 1342: they then ſeparated, and went each to his country. Lord Charles marched to Carhaix, and took with him all the barons and lords of Brittany that were of his party. He alſo kept with him many of the French nobles, to adviſe with and conſult.

Whilſt he was in Carhaix, ſettling and ordering his different garriſons to their poſts, it happened

* In the dioceſe of the St. Pol de Léon, five leagues from the ſea, and ſeven from St. Brieux.

that a rich citizen and great merchant of the town of Jugon was met by his marſhal, ſir Robert de Beauvais*, whom he captured, and brought to lord Charles in the town of Carhaix. This citizen provided all the purveyances for the counteſs of Montfort, in the town of Jugon and elſewhere, and was much beloved and eſteemed in that town, which is well incloſed and finely ſituated: the caſtle is alſo handſome and ſtrong. He was very much afraid of being put to death, and begged that he might be allowed to pay for his ranſom. To make ſhort of it, the lord Charles had him ſo often examined on different ſubjects, that at laſt he agreed to betray the town of Jugon to him, and engaged to deliver one of the gates of it at a certain time in the night; for he was ſo much reſpected in the town, that he had the keeping of the keys: and, to give ſecurity for his promiſe, he left his ſon as hoſtage for him. Lord Charles promiſed to give him five hundred livres of yearly rent.

The day fixed for the opening of the gate of Jugon arrived, and lord Charles entered the town at midnight, with a large force The watch of the caſtle, perceiving this, gave the alarm, and cried out, 'Treaſon! treaſon!' The inhabitants, not ſuſpecting any thing, began to ſtir; and, when they ſaw that their town was loſt, they ran in crowds towards the caſtle. The citizen, who had betrayed them, ran thither alſo, in order to hide his treachery.

* Robert de Beaumanoir, mareſchal de Bretagne.—*Hiſt. de Bretagne.*

As ſoon as it was day, lord Charles and his party entered the houſes of the inhabitants, to repoſe themſelves; and took whatever they pleaſed. When he ſaw that the caſtle was ſo ſtrong and full of citizens, he declared he would never quit the place, until he ſhould have poſſeſſion of it.

The governor, ſir Girard de Rochefort, and the citizens, ſoon found out they had been betrayed; they ſeized, therefore, the traitor, and hung him on the battlements, on the outſide of the walls of the caſtle. Having received notice of the lord Charles's declaration, that he would not depart until he had gained the caſtle, and finding that they had not proviſions for more than ten days, they conſented to ſurrender it, upon having their lives ſpared, and the remnant of their chattels reſtored to them.

This was granted; and they ſwore homage and fealty to lord Charles, who continued the ſame ſir Girard de Rochefort governor of it, having reinforced the town and caſtle with men and proviſions.

Whilſt theſe things were paſſing, ſome prudent and wiſe men in Brittany were buſy in propoſing a truce between the lord Charles of Blois and the counteſs of Montfort, who conſented to it, as did all her allies: for the king of England had adviſed them ſo to do, by the meſſengers which came to him from the counteſs and ſir Walter Manny.

As ſoon as this truce was concluded, the counteſs of Montfort embarked, and paſſed over to England.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXXVIII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND MAKES GREAT FEASTS AND TOURNAMENTS AT LONDON, THROUGH AFFECTION FOR THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY.

IT has been related in the foregoing parts of this history, how the king of England had great wars in many diſtant parts and countries, and that he maintained, every where, armies and garriſons at a heavy expenſe: that is to ſay, in Picardy, Normandy, Gaſcony, Poitou, Saintonge, Brittany, and in Scotland. You have alſo heard how paſſionately he was ſmitten with the charms of the noble lady, Catherine counteſs of Saliſbury; inſomuch that he could not put her out of his mind, for love reminded him of her day and night, and repreſented her beauties and lively behaviour in ſuch bewitching points of view, that he could think of nothing elſe, notwithſtanding that the earl of Saliſbury was one of his moſt truſty counſellors, and one who in England had moſt loyally ſerved him.

Out of affection for the ſaid lady, and his deſire to ſee her, he ordered a great feaſt and tournament to be proclaimed, to be holden in London the middle of Auguſt. He ſent his proclamation into Flanders, Hainault, Brabant and France, promiſing paſſports to all knights and ſquires, from whatever country they might come, for their arrival and return. He commanded, that all barons, lords, knights and ſquires, of his own realm, ſhould be

there without fail, if they had any love for him: and he expreſsly ordered the earl of Saliſbury to have the lady his wife there, with as many young ladies as he could collect to attend her. The earl very cheerfully complied with the king's requeſt; for he thought of nothing evil; and the good lady dared not ſay nay. She came, however, much againſt her will; for ſhe gueſſed the reaſon which made the king ſo earneſt for her attendance, but was afraid to diſcover it to her huſband, imagining at the ſame time, by her conduct and converſation to make the king change his opinion.

There were at this feaſt, which was very noble and magnificent, William earl of Hainault, ſir John his uncle, and great numbers of barons and knights of high birth: the dancing and feaſting continued for the ſpace of fifteen days. The lord John, eldeſt ſon of the viſcount * Beaumont in England, was killed at this tournament. He was a handſome and hardy knight, and bore for arms a ſhield azur, beſprinkled with flower-de-luces or, with a lion or rampant, and a battoon gules upon the ſhield.

The ladies and damſels were moſt ſuperbly dreſſed and ornamented, according to their different degrees, except the counteſs of Saliſbury, who came there in as plain attire as poſſible. She was not willing that the king ſhould give up too much time to admire her; for ſhe had neither wiſh nor inclination to obey him in any thing evil, that might turn out to her own or her huſband's diſhonour.

* No mention is made of this in Dugdale, and there were no viſcounts, but barons, at that period.

At

At this feaſt were Henry, ſurnamed Wry-neck, earl of Lancaſter, ſir Henry his ſon earl of Derby, lord Robert d'Artois earl of Richmond, the earl of Northampton and Glouceſter, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Saliſbury, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Hereford; the earl of Arundel, the earl of Cornwall, the earl of Oxford, the earl of Suffolk, the lord Stamford, and many other barons and knights of England.

The king, on the departure of theſe nobles, received letters from different lords in the countries of Gaſcony, Bayonne, Flanders, and from his great friend Jacob von Artaveld. He alſo heard from the borders of Scotland, from the lord Roos of Hamlake and lord Percy, and the lord Edward Baliol, who was governor of Berwick, that the Scots kept the truce, which had been agreed to laſt year between the Engliſh and Scots, very indifferently; and that they had iſſued out proclamations for aſſembling a large force, but he was uncertain to what part they would direct it.

The garriſons which he kept in Poitou, Saintonge, la Rochelle, and the Bourdoulois, wrote to inform him that the French were making great preparations for war; and that as the truce agreed to by the kings of France and England at Arras, after the breaking up of the ſiege of Tournay, was near expiring, it behoved his majeſty to have good advice. He anſwered every part of their letters.

CHAP. LXXXIX.

THE KING OF ENGLAND SENDS THE LORD ROBERT DARTOIS INTO BRITTANY.

DURING the ſeſſions of a parliament held at London, the king was deſirous of putting every thing elſe aſide, and to ſuccour the counteſs of Montfort, who, at that time, was on a viſit to the queen of England. He entreated, therefore, his dear couſin lord Robert d'Artois, that he would collect as many men at arms and archers as he could, and paſs over with the counteſs into Brittany.

The lord Robert made his preparations, and, having aſſembled his number of men at arms and archers, went to Southampton, where they lay a conſiderable time on account of contrary winds. About Eaſter, they embarked and put to ſea.

At this ſame parliament, the barons earneſtly adviſed the king, in conſideration of the multitude of buſineſs he had upon his hands, to ſend the biſhop of Lincoln to his brother-in-law the king of Scotland, to treat for a firm and ſtable truce to laſt for two other years.

The king was loth to do it; as he was deſirous to carry on the war againſt the Scots in ſuch a manner that they themſelves ſhould requeſt a truce. His council, however, with all due deference, ſaid, that that would not be the moſt adviſable means, conſidering he had before ſo ruined and deſtroyed that country, and that he had more important affairs

fairs on his hands in other parts. They added, that it was great wiſdom, when engaged in different wars, to pacify one power by a truce, another by fair words, and make war on the third.

The king was perſuaded, by theſe and other reaſons, and begged the above-mentioned prelate to undertake this miſſion. The biſhop would not ſay nay, but ſet out on his journey. He ſoon returned without doing any thing, and related to the king, that the king of Scotland had no power to make a truce without the will and conſent of the king of France. Upon hearing this, the king exclaimed aloud, that he would ſhortly ſo ruin and deſtroy the kingdom of Scotland, it ſhould never recover from it. He iſſued out a proclamation through his realm, for all perſons to aſſemble at Berwick, by the feaſt of Eaſter, properly armed, and prepared to follow him wherever he ſhould lead them, except thoſe who were to go into Brittany.

When Eaſter came, the king held a great court at Berwick. All the princes, lords and knights who at that time were in England, were there, as well as great numbers of the common people of the country.

They remained there three weeks, without making any excurſion; for prudent and good men were buſily employing themſelves to form a truce, which at laſt was agreed and ſworn to, for two years; and the Scots had it confirmed by the king of France.

The king of England ſent all his people to their own homes: he himſelf returned to Windſor. He

ſent the lord Thomas Holland and ſir John Darvel to Bayonne, with two hundred men at arms and four hundred archers, to guard that frontier againſt the French.

CHAP. XC.

A SEA ENGAGEMENT, OFF GUERNSEY, BETWEEN THE LORD ROBERT D'ARTOIS AND THE LORD LEWIS OF SPAIN.

WE muſt now return to lord Robert d'Artois and his army. Eaſter fell ſo late this year, that it was about the beginning of May; and the middle of that month was the period when the truce between the lord Charles and the counteſs of Montfort was to expire.

The lord Charles had received information of the counteſs of Montfort's journey into England, of her ſolicitations for aſſiſtance, and of the ſuccour the king of England was to give her: on which account, the lord Lewis of Spain, ſir Charles Grimaldi and ſir Otho Doria, were ſtationed off Guernsey, with thirty-two large veſſels, having on board three thouſand Genoeſe, and a thouſand men at arms.

The lord Robert d'Artois, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Saliſbury, the earl of Suffolk, the earl of Oxford, the baron of Stamford, the lord Deſpenſer, the lord Bouchier, with many other knights from England, and their followers, were accompanying the counteſs of Montfort to Brittany, and had

had a wind to their wiſh: when in an afternoon, as they were near the iſland of Guernſey, they perceived the large fleet of the Genoeſe, of which the lord Lewis was commander.

Upon this, the ſailors cried out, 'Gentlemen, arm yourſelves and make ready, for here are the Genoeſe and Spaniards bearing down upon us.' The Engliſh then ſounded their trumpets, ſpread out their pennons to the wind, ornamented with the devices of their arms and with the banner of St. George. Every one poſted himſelf properly at his quarters, and filling up the intervals with archers, they advanced full ſail toward the enemy. They might be about forty-ſix veſſels, great and ſmall; but there were none ſo large as nine of thoſe under the lord Lewis, who had likewiſe three galleys; in each of which were the three chiefs, the lord Lewis, ſir Charles Grimaldi and ſir Otho Doria. The fleets approached each other, and the Genoeſe began to ſhoot with their croſs-bows at random, which the Engliſh archers returned. This continued ſome time, and many were wounded: but when the barons, knights and ſquires were able to come to cloſe combat, and could reach each other with their lances, then the battle raged, and they made good trial of each other's courage. The counteſs of Montfort was equal to a man, for ſhe had the heart of a lion; and, with a ruſty ſharp ſword in her hand, ſhe combated bravely.

The Genoeſe and Spaniards, who were in theſe large veſſels, threw down upon their enemies great bars of iron, and annoyed them much with very

long lances. This engagement began about veſpers, and laſted until night parted them; for, ſoon after veſpers, there came on ſuch a fog, they could ſcarcely diſtinguiſh each other; they therefore ſeparated, caſt anchor, and got their ſhips in order, but did not diſarm, for they intended renewing the fight the next day.

About midnight, a violent ſtorm aroſe; and ſo tremendous was it, that it ſeemed as if the world would have been deſtroyed: there were not, on either ſide, any ſo bold, but who wiſhed themſelves on ſhore; for theſe barges and veſſels drove ſo furiouſly againſt each other, that they feared they would go to pieces.

The Engliſh lords inquired of the ſailors what was beſt to be done: they anſwered, to diſembark as ſoon as they could; for there were ſuch riſks at ſea, that, if the wind ſhould continue as violent as it then was, there would be danger of their being all drowned. They therefore drew up their anchors, ſet their ſails about half a quarter, and made off. On the other hand, the Genoeſe weighed their anchors, and put off to ſea; for their veſſels, being ſo much larger than the Engliſh, could weather the tempeſt more ſecurely; and alſo, if they ſhould drive too near the ſhore, they ran a riſk of being wrecked, which made them take to the deep. As they were going off, they fell in with four Engliſh veſſels, laden with proviſions, which had kept out of the engagement: they ſeized them, and took them in tow. The wind and tempeſt were ſo vehement, that, in one day, they were driven more than

than a hundred leagues from the place where they had fought.

The lord Robert gained land at a ſmall port near the city of Vannes; and they were all rejoiced when they ſet foot on ſhore

CHAP. XCI.

THE LORD ROBERT D'ARTOIS TAKES THE CITY OF VANNES.

THUS by this tempeſt was the engagement at ſea interrupted, between the lord Robert and lord Lewis, and their fleets. It is difficult to ſay to whom the honour belongs; for they ſeparated unwillingly, on account of the badneſs of the weather.

The Engliſh, having landed near Vannes, diſembarked, on the ſand, their horſes, proviſions, and arms. They then ordered their fleet to make for Hennebon, and determined to lay ſiege to Vannes.

The lords Hervé de Léon and Olivier de Cliſſon were in it, as governors for the lord Charles of Blois: the lords of Tournemine and Loheac were there alſo. When they perceived that the Engliſh were coming to beſiege them, they looked well to the caſtle, their watch towers and gates; and at every gate they poſted a knight, with ten men at arms, and twenty archers among the croſs-bows.

To return to the lord Lewis and his fleet, who were, all that night and the morrow until noon, violently driven about by the tempeſt, and in very great danger: they loſt two of their ſhips, with all

that

that were on board. The third day early, the ſtormy weather abated, when the knights aſked the ſailors which was the neareſt land; who anſwered, the kingdom of Navarre: and the maſters of the veſſels ſaid, the tempeſt had driven them more than one hundred and twenty leagues from the coaſts of Brittany. They caſt anchor, and waited for the return of the tide. When flood came, they had a tolerably fair wind to carry them towards la Rochelle. They coaſted by Bayonne, but did not touch there: and falling in with four veſſels belonging to Bayonne, which were coming from Flanders, they attacked and took them, and put all whom they found on board to death. They made for la Rochelle, and, in a few days, came to Guerrande, where they landed; and, having heard that the lord Robert d'Artois was laying ſiege to Vannes, they ſent to lord Charles, who was at Rennes, to know how he would have them act.

The lord Robert, as you have heard, was before Vannes, with a thouſand men at arms, and three thouſand arches. He overran, burnt and deſtroyed all the country round about, as far as Dinant and Goi la Forêt, ſo that no one dared remain in the flat country. During this ſiege of Vannes, there were many ſkirmiſhes and attacks at the barriers of the town, the inhabitants of which were eager, to defend themſelves. The counteſs remained all the time with lord Robert at the ſiege.

Sir Walter Manny, who had continued in Hennebon the whole time that the counteſs was in England,

gave

gave up the charge of it to the lord of Cadoudal; and taking with him ſir Yves de Treſiquidi, a hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers, came to the army before Vannes. Soon after his arrival, the town was aſſaulted in three places at once; and the Engliſh archers ſhot ſo thickly, that ſcarcely any one dared to ſhow themſelves at the battlements. This combat laſted a whole day, and many were killed and wounded on both ſides. Towards evening, the Engliſh retired to their quarters, and the inhabitants to their houſes, quite tired, when they diſarmed themſelves: but the army did not ſo; they only took off their helmets, and drank once to refreſh themſelves. Preſently after, by the advice of lord Robert, the army was drawn out again in three diviſions: two of them were led to that part of the town where they intended to make the ſtrongeſt aſſault, and the third was ordered to remain quiet, until the engagement ſhould have laſted ſome time, which would probably bring all the inhabitants to that quarter to defend themſelves: they were then to advance to the weakeſt part of the place, and, being provided with rope ladders and iron hooks, they were to attempt to ſcale the walls and conquer the town. This was executed. The lord Robert marched with the van diviſion, and ſkirmiſhed cloſe up to the barriers: the earl of Saliſbury did the ſame at another gate: and becauſe it was very late, to alarm the inhabitants more, they made great fires, ſo that the flames lighted the whole town; which made many think their houſes were on fire. They cried out, 'Trea-

ſon! treaſon! arm yourſelves;' for many were already gone to reſt, as they had worked hard in the day time.

They got up as quickly as they could, and ran, without any order, and without ſpeaking to their captains, to the part where the fires were. The lords alſo, who were in their hôtels, armed themſelves. In the midſt of this buſtle, the earl of Oxford and ſir Walter Manny advanced, with the third diviſion, to a part where there was no guard; and, having fixed their ladders, mounted them, with their targets on their heads, and entered the town very quietly, without the French or Bretons, who were within it, having the leaſt ſuſpicion until they ſaw their enemies in the ſtreets. They then all took to flight, each to ſave himſelf: their captains, not having time to get into the caſtle, mounted their horſes, and, paſſing through a poſtern, gained the fields, to ſave their lives: happy were thoſe who could by this means eſcape. However, the four knights mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, ſaved themſelves, and a part of their people; but all who were encountered by the Engliſh were ſlain or made priſoners. The town of Vannes was overrun and ſacked: all ſorts of people entered into it; and the counteſs of Montfort made her entry there with lord Robert d'Artois, to her great joy.

CHAP.

CHAP. XCII.

THE DEATH OF THE LORD ROBERT D'ARTOIS.

THUS, as I have related, was the town of Vannes taken. Five days after that event, the counteſs of Montfort, ſir Walter Manny, ſir Yves de Treſiquidi, and many other Engliſh and Breton knights returned to Hennebon.

At the ſame time, the earl of Saliſbury, the earl of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, with three thouſand men at arms and three thouſand archers, took leave of the lord Robert, left Vannes, and went towards Rennes, which the lord Charles and his lady had quitted four days before, and were gone to Nantes; but they had left in that city great numbers of knights and ſquires.

The lord Lewis of Spain remained at ſea with his Genoeſe and Spaniards, and ſo carefully guarded the coaſts of England, that no one could come from thence, or go into Brittany, without much danger; and this year he did great damage to the Engliſh.

The country was much agitated by the capture of the city of Vannes; for they imagined that the captains who were within it ought to have defended it againſt all the world, as it was ſufficiently ſtrong, very well provided with men at arms, artillery, and all other ſorts of proviſion. The lord of Cliffon and ſir Hervé de Léon were quite aſhamed of their miſhap; and, their enemies ſpeaking villanouſly of what they had done, they ſent to a great number of knights and ſquires of Brittany, and entreated

they would meet them at an appointed rendezvous, by a certain day, with as many followers as they could bring. They all cheerfully promiſed, and exerted themſelves ſo much, as did many of the people in Brittany, that, by the appointed time, there came before the town of Vannes twelve thouſand men armed, including freemen and feoffs. Thither came, with a numerous body, the lord Robert de Beaumanoir, marſhal of Brittany; and having beſieged the city on every ſide, they began to aſſault it very ſharply. When the lord Robert found himſelf thus beſieged in Vannes, he was not negligent to defend it valiantly againſt the Bretons, who repeated their attacks with great courage and eagerneſs, leſt thoſe who had gone for Rennes ſhould return and diſappoint their enterpriſe.

They gave one aſſault ſo well ſupported by the knights, ſquires, and even by the commonalty of the country, that they overpowered the barriers of the town, then the gates, and entered the town by ſtorm, putting the Engliſh to flight, killing and wounding many. Among the laſt was the lord Robert, who was very badly wounded, inſomuch that it was with difficulty he eſcaped being taken: he fled through a poſtern gate, and lord Stafford with him.

At this capture of Vannes, the lord Deſpencer, ſon of the lord Hugh Spencer, mentioned at the beginning of this hiſtory, was taken priſoner by ſir Hervé de Léon; but he was ſo badly wounded that he died the third day afterwards. Thus did the French regain the town of Vannes.

Lord

Lord Robert d'Artois continued ſome little time in Hennebon; but at laſt he was recommended to return to England, where he would find more ſkilful ſurgeons and phyſicians. On his voyage, he was ſo much affected and oppreſſed by ſea-ſickneſs that his wounds grew worſe: he ſurvived but a ſhort time after he had been carried to London. He was courteous, courageous and gallant, and of the firſt blood in the world.

He was buried at London in the church of St. Paul; and the king of England made his obſequies as ſolemn as if they had been for his couſin-german the earl of Derby. The lord Robert was much lamented in England; and when the king was informed of his death, he ſwore he would never reſt until he had revenged it: he would go himſelf into Brittany, and reduce the country to ſuch a ſituation that it ſhould not recover itſelf for forty years.

He iſſued out his ſummons for all manner of perſons to get themſelves in readineſs to follow him at the end of the month; and he collected a numerous fleet, well provided with every thing that was neceſſary. At the end of the month, he put to ſea, and anchored near Vannes, at the ſame place where lord Robert had landed with his army. It took them three days to diſembark their horſes, proviſions, &c.: on the fourth, they advanced toward Vannes. The earls of Saliſbury and Pembroke with the Engliſh before named, were all this time carrying on the ſiege of Rennes.

CHAP. XCIII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND CONTINUES THE WAR IN PERSON IN BRITTANY.

THE Engliſh king was ſo active from the time of his landing in Brittany, that he advanced with his whole army before Vannes, and laid ſiege to it. At that time there was in Vannes, Olivier de Cliſſon, ſir Hervé de Léon, the lord of Tournemine, ſir Geoffry de Maleſtroit, ſir Guy de Loheac, who having imagined, for ſome time, that the king of England would come to Brittany, had amply provided the town and caſtle with men, and every kind of ſtores and proviſions.

When the king had quartered his men, he ordered an aſſault, and his archers to make good uſe of their bows. This laſted half a day; but he won nothing, though they laboured hard, ſo well was the town defended.

As ſoon as the counteſs of Montfort knew of the arrival of the king of England, ſhe ſet out from Hennebon, accompanied by ſir Walter Manny and other knights and ſquires, and came towards Vannes to compliment the king, and entertain him and all the barons of his army. After a ſtay of four days, ſhe and her ſuit returned to Hennebon.

We muſt now ſpeak of the lord Charles of Blois, who remained in the city of Nantes. When he was informed that the king of England was come into Brittany, he ſignified it to the king of France, his uncle, in order to obtain aſſiſtance.

The

The king of England perceiving that Vannes was ſtrong, and well provided with every neceſſary, and hearing from his people that the country round about was poor, and ſo deſtroyed that they had difficulty in getting forage for themſelves and horſes, as they were very numerous, ordered the earl of Arundel, the baron of Stafford, ſir Walter Manny, ſir Yves de Treſiquidi, ſir Girard de Rochefort, with five hundred men at arms and ſix thouſand archers to remain there.

He himſelf with the reſt of his army, advanced towards Rennes, burning and ruining the country on all ſides, and was moſt joyfully received by his army, who lay before it, and had been there for a conſiderable time. When he had tarried five days, he learnt that the lord Charles was at Nantes, collecting a large force of men at arms. He ſet out, therefore, leaving thoſe whom he had found at Rennes, and came before Nantes, which he beſieged as cloſely as he could; but he was unable to ſurround it, ſuch was its ſize and extent. The marſhals therefore, and their people, overran the country, and deſtroyed it.

The king of England drew out, one day, his army in battle array on a hill near Nantes, in expectation that the lord Charles would come forth, and offer him an opportunity of fighting with him: but, having waited from morning till noon in vain, they returned to their quarters: the light horſe however, in their retreat, galloped up to the barriers, and ſet fire to the ſuburbs.

The king of England, in this manner, remained before Nantes: the lord Charles, who was within it, ſent frequent information to the king of France of the ſtate of his affairs, who had already ordered his ſon, the duke of Normandy, to his aſſiſtance, and which duke was then come to Angers, where he had fixed the rendezvous for his forces that came to him from all quarters.

During this ſiege, the king of England made frequent ſkirmiſhes, but without ſucceſs, always loſing ſome of his men. When, therefore, he found he could gain nothing by his aſſaults, and that the lord Charles would not come out into the plains to fight with him, he eſtabliſhed there the earl of Oxford, ſir Henry Beaumont, the lord Percy, the lord Roos, the lord Mowbray, the lord Delawar, ſir Reginald Cobham, ſir John Liſle, with ſix hundred men armed and two hundred archers.

He himſelf advanced into the country of Brittany, waſting it wherever he went, until he came to the town of Dinant, of which ſir Peter Portebœuf was governor. He immediately laid ſiege to it all round, and ordered it to be vigorouſly aſſaulted: thoſe within made a valiant reſiſtance. Thus did the king of England in one ſeaſon, and in one day, make an aſſault by himſelf, or thoſe ordered by him, upon three cities in Brittany and a good town.

CHAP.

CHAP. XCIV.

THE LORD OF CLISSON AND SIR HERVE DE LEON ARE TAKEN PRISONERS BY THE ENGLISH.

DURING the time that the king of England was thus overrunning the country of Brittany, his army that was beſieging Vannes made every day ſome ſharp aſſaults upon one of the gates: all the moſt expert warriors of each ſide were attracted to that place, and many gallant deeds of arms were performed; for thoſe of Vannes had opened the gate, and poſted themſelves at the barriers, becauſe they had noticed the banners of the earl of Arundel, the earl of Warwick, the baron of Stafford, and ſir Walter Maury, who appeared to them to adventure themſelves too raſhly. Upon which the lord of Cliſſon, ſir Hervé de Léon, and ſome other knights, took more courage. The engagement was well ſupported on both ſides, and laſted a conſiderable time: but finally the Engliſh were repulſed, and driven back from the barriers.

The Breton knights, opening the barriers, puſhed forward, ſword in hand, leaving behind them ſix knights, with a ſufficient force, to guard the town, and purſued the Engliſh, who fought well as they retreated. The conflict became ſtronger; for the Engliſh increaſed and were ſtrengthened, which forced the Bretons to retire, but not ſo regularly as they had advanced. The ſtruggle now was very hard: the Breton knights had much difficulty to return, and many were killed and wounded.

When thoſe at the barriers ſaw their people retreating and driven back, they cloſed them, but ſo untimely that the lord of Cliffon was ſhut out, and alſo ſir Hervé de Léon, who were both taken priſoners. On the other hand, on the part of the Engliſh, who had advanced too eagerly, was the baron of Stafford, who was incloſed between the barriers and the gate, where the combat raged very fiercely. The lord Stafford was taken, and many of his people were made priſoners, or ſlain. So the Engliſh retreated to their quarters, and the Bretons into the city of Vannes.

CHAP. XCV.

THE KING OF ENGLAND TAKES THE TOWN OF DINANT.—THE LORD LEWIS OF SPAIN MAKES SOME CRUISES AT SEA.

IN the manner above related were theſe knights taken priſoners. After that engagement, there were not any others of conſequence; for each ſide was upon its guard. The king of England had laid ſiege to Dinant, who when he had been four days before it, collected a great number of boats, in which he placed his archers, and had them rowed up to the palliſades of wood with which the town was incloſed. They ſhot ſo well that no one dared ſcarcely to ſhew himſelf at the windows, or any where elſe, to defend it. With the archers, there were others who with ſharp axes, whilſt the archers made uſe of their bows, cut the palliſades, and in a ſhort time did

did ſo much damage that they flung down a large part of them, and entered the town by force.

The town's people then fled towards the market place; but there was little regularity or order among them, for thoſe who had paſſed the ditch in boats, and had entered the town, advanced to the gate, and opened it, ſo that every one might paſs. Thus was the town of Dinant in Brittany taken, ſacked and pillaged, and the governor, ſir Peter Portebœuf, made priſoner. The Engliſh took whatever they pleaſed, and made a rich booty, for the town at that time was very wealthy and full of merchandiſe.

When the king of England had atchieved this deed, and had conquered the town, he left it empty, not having any intention of keeping it, and advanced towards Vannes, where he took up his quarters.

We muſt now ſpeak of the lord Lewis of Spain, the lord Charles Grimaldi and lord Otho Doria, who at this time had under their command eight galleys, thirteen barges, and thirty-nine veſſels, manned by Genoeſe and Spaniards. They kept cruiſing between England and Brittany, and at times did great miſchief to the Engliſh, who were coming to recruit their countrymen with troops and proviſions.

Once, among other times, they attacked the fleet of the king of England, that lay at anchor in a ſmall port of Brittany near Vannes, which not being ſufficiently guarded, they ſlew a great part of the mariners, and would have done much more damage,

if the Engliſh, who were before Vannes, had not haſtened to their aſſiſtance. When this news was brought to the army, every one was in motion: but, notwithſtanding the ſpeed they made, they could not prevent the lord Lewis and his party from carrying off four veſſels laden with proviſions, and ſinking three others, the crews of which were all drowned. The king was then adviſed to ſend one part of his fleet to the harbour of Breſt, and the other to that of Hennebon, which he complied with, and continued to beſiege both Vannes and Rennes.

CHAP. XCVI.

THE DUKE OF NORMANDY BRINGS WITH HIM SOME LORDS OF FRANCE, TO OPPOSE THE KING OF ENGLAND IN BRITTANY.

WE will now return to the army which the duke of Normandy was marching into Brittany, to aſſiſt his couſin the lord Charles of Blois.

The duke after having collected his forces, was informed how the king of England was laying waſte all the country of Brittany; that he was beſieging three cities, and had taken the town of Dinant: he ſet out therefore with a very great force, from the city of Angers, having more than four thouſand men at arms, and thirty thouſand others. All the baggage took the high road for Nantes, under the command of the two marſhals of France, the lord of Montmorency, and the lord de St. Venant. After them came the duke of Normandy, the earl d'Alençon

d'Alençon his uncle, the earl of Blois his couſin, the duke de Bourbon, the earl de Ponthieu, the earl of Boulogne, the earl of Vendôme, the earl of Dammartin, the lord of Craon, the lord of Coucy, the lord of Sully, the lord of Freſnes, the lord of Roye, and ſo many barons and knights from Normandy, Auvergne, Limouſin, Berry, Maine, and Poitou, that it would take too much time to name them all; and they were every day increaſing, for the king of France had reiterated his ſummons.

The Engliſh lords before Nantes received intelligence, that the duke of Normandy was on his march with forty thouſand men: this news they ſent off in great haſte to king Edward; the receiving of which made him very thoughtful; and he had at one time the idea of breaking up the ſiege of Vannes, as well as that of Rennes, and to retire towards Nantes. He was, however, adviſed to continue where he was, as his poſition was ſtrong, and near to his fleet, and to wait for his enemies. He was alſo adviſed to ſend for the diviſion of his army that was before Nantes, and continue the ſiege of Rennes; as that place was not ſo far diſtant, but that his army could come to his aſſiſtance, if there ſhould be any neceſſity for it. The king followed this counſel, and ſent for thoſe that were before Nantes, who came to the ſiege of Vannes.

The duke of Normandy and his army arrived at Nantes, where the lord Charles and a number of knights were. The lords were lodged in the town, and the army round about; for there was not room for them in the city or ſuburbs.

CHAP. XCVII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND AND THE DUKE OF NORMANDY ENCAMP THEIR ARMIES OPPOSITE TO EACH OTHER, NEAR TO VANNES.

DURING the time the duke of Normandy remained in Nantes, the lords of England who were before Rennes made a vigorous aſſault upon that city: they had, for a long time before, prepared machines for this attack. Though it laſted a whole day, they gained no advantage, but loſt many of their men.

The baron d'Ancenis, the lord du Pont, ſir John de Maleſtroit, Yvain Charruel, and Bertrand du Gueſclin, then a ſquire, were in the town, and, as well as the biſhop, defended themſelves ſo valiantly, that they ſuffered no loſs. Notwithſtanding this, the Engliſh remained before the place, and waſted and deſtroyed the country round about.

The duke of Normandy left Nantes with his army, and was adviſed to advance towards Vannes, that he might the ſooner meet the enemy; for he had heard that that town was much ſtraitened, and in greater danger of being loſt than Rennes. He and his whole army, therefore, took their route to Vannes, under the command of the two marſhals and ſir Geoffry de Charny: the earl of Guines, ſon to the conſtable of France, had the rearward. They continued their march until they came pretty near to Vannes, on the oppoſite ſide to where the king of England was quartered: they then halted, encamped

encamped in a fine meadow, and made a large ditch in their front.

The marſhals, and ſir Robert de Beaumanoir, marſhal of Brittany, made frequent excurſions: there were ſkirmiſhes on both ſides, which occaſioned the overthrow and death of many.

The king of England ſent for the earl of Saliſbury, the earl of Pembroke, and the reſt who were beſieging Rennes. The Engliſh, and the Bretons of the Montfort party, might amount to nearly two thouſand five hundred men at arms, ſix thouſand archers, and three thouſand men on foot. The French were four times that number, well conditioned and well armed.

The king of England had taken ſuch a poſition before Vannes, that the French could not attack him, but to their diſadvantage; and ſince the arrival of the duke of Normandy, he had not made any aſſault upon the town, wiſhing to ſpare his men and his artillery.

Thus theſe two armies lay near each other for a long time. When the winter ſet in, pope Clement VI. ſent thither the cardinal of Preneſte and the cardinal of Clermont, who made frequent viſits from one army to the other, to endeavour to reconcile them; but they would not conſent to a peace.*

There

* The firſt of theſe prelates was Peter des Près, born in Quercy, chancellor of the church of Rome, and biſhop of Freſcati: the other was Annibal de Cecano, biſhop of Paleſtine. The conferences were held in the priory of the Magdalen.

There were frequent engagements between the foragers, and many killed on each ſide. The Engliſh were obliged to go out foraging in large parties, for fear of falling into ambuſcades; and every time they went abroad they were in great danger of them. Add to this, that the lord Lewis of Spain, and his fleet, guarded ſo carefully the coaſt, that the Engliſh army could ſcarcely receive any thing from England, which made them ſuffer much.

It was the intention of the duke to keep the king thus in a manner beſieged; but the French endured much pain from the inclemency of the weather, for it rained night and day, which deſtroyed the greater part of their horſes, and forced them to diſlodge and lie in the open fields, from the great quantity of water which inundated their camp.

The cardinals now exerted themſelves ſo effectually, that a truce for three years was agreed to; and the king of England and the duke ſwore, as is cuſtomary, not to infringe it during that time.

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dalen, in the town of Maleſtroit. The commiſſioners on the part of France were, Eudes duke of Burgundy, and Peter duke of Bourbon; on the part of England, Henry earl of Lancaſter, William Bohun and William Montacute.—*Hiſt. de Bretagne.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XCVIII.

THE KING OF FRANCE ORDERS THE LORD OF CLISSON, AND MANY OTHER LORDS OF BRITTANY AND NORMANDY, TO BE BEHEADED.

THUS theſe great armies were ſeparated, and the ſiege of Vannes raiſed. The duke of Normandy retired to Nantes, and took the two cardinals with him: the king of England went to the counteſs of Montfort at Hennebon. There was an exchange made of the lord of Cliſſon for the baron of Stafford.

When the king of England had been ſome time at Hennebon with the counteſs, and had arranged his affairs, he gave her in charge to the two brothers de Spinefort, ſir William de Cadoudal and others, and ſet out with his knights for England, where he arrived about Chriſtmas.*

The duke of Normandy returned into France, and, having diſbanded his army, each went to his own home.

Soon afterwards, the lord of Cliſſon was arreſted, upon ſuſpicion of treaſon, and confined in the priſon of the Châtelet in Paris: at which all who heard it were much ſurpriſed. The barons and knights of France aſked each other what could be the reaſon, for they could not make out any thing ſatisfactory; but they imagined it might be occaſioned by jealouſy,

* Edward embarked about the end of February, and landed at Weymouth on a Sunday, 2d March, 1343.—RYMER.

becauſe

becauſe the king of England had preferred to exchange him for lord Stafford to ſir Hervè de Lèon, who was ſtill a priſoner: ſo that the favour the king of England had ſhewn to the lord of Cliſſon, in preference to ſir Hervè, his enemies thought had been improperly gained, and grounded upon that the ſuſpicion for which he loſt his head at Paris, and which occaſioned great grief, for no one could find a ſufficient reaſon for it.*

Shortly afterwards, many other knights were accuſed of ſimilar crimes. The lord of Maleſtroit and his ſon, the lord of Avaugour, ſir Tibaut de Morillon, and other lords of Brittany, to the number of ten knights and ſquires, were beheaded at Paris.

Four other knights of Normandy, ſir William Baron, ſir Henry de Maleſtroit, the lord of Rocheteſſon, and ſir Richard de Perſy, were put to death upon reports, whether well founded or not I am ignorant, which cauſed afterwards great troubles in Brittany and Normandy.

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* The lord Stafford was exchanged for Olivier de Cliſſon, and Godfrey de Harcourt. They entered into a treaty with Edward, and the earl of Saliſbury was the perſon to whom it was intruſted. On the earl's return to England, on hearing from his counteſs Edward's conduct to her during his abſence, he retired from the court ſecretly, and went to France, when he delivered up to Philip de Valois the engagements of Olivier de Cliſſon and the other knights. Olivier was beheaded, and his body hung on the gibbet at Monfaucon. Godfrey de Harcourt, being baniſhed the kingdom, retired to England.—*Hiſt. de Bretagne*, vol. i. p. 268.

The

The lord of Cliffon left behind him a fon, named Olivier de Cliffon after his father, who withdrew himfelf immediately to the caftle of Montfort, with the counteſs and her fon, who was nearly of the fame age with himfelf, and without a father; for in truth the earl of Montfort had died in the Louvre at Paris.*

CHAP. XCIX.

KING EDWARD INSTITUTES THE ORDER OF ST. GEORGE, AT WINDSOR.

ABOUT this time, the king of England reſolved to rebuild and embelliſh the great caſtle of Windſor, which king Arthur had firſt founded in time paſt, and where he had erected and eſtabliſhed that noble round table from whence ſo many gallant knights had iſſued forth, and diſplayed the valiant proweſs of their deeds at arms over the world.

King Edward, therefore, determined to eſtabliſh an order of knighthood, conſiſting of himſelf, his children, and the moſt gallant knights in Chriſtendom, to the number of forty.

He ordered it to be denominated 'knights of the blue garter,' and that the feaſt ſhould be celebrated every year, at Windſor, upon St. George's day. He ſummoned, therefore, all the earls, barons and knights of his realm, to inform them of his intentions; they heard it with great pleaſure;

* See a former note, p. 188, reſpecting his death.

for

for it appeared to them highly honourable, and capable of increaſing love and friendſhip. Forty knights were then elected, according to report and eſtimation, the braveſt in Chriſtendom, who ſealed, and ſwore to maintain and keep the feaſt and the ſtatutes which had been made.

The king founded a chapel at Windſor, in honor of St. George, and eſtabliſhed canons, there to ſerve God, with a handſome endowment. He then iſſued his proclamation for this feaſt, by his heralds, whom he ſent to France, Scotland, Burgundy, Hainault, Flanders, Brabant, and the empire of Germany, and offered to all knights and ſquires, that might come to this ceremony, paſſports to laſt for fifteen days after it was over.*

The

* The number of knights of the garter were only twenty-ſix; underneath are the names of the firſt knights:

1. King Edward.
2. Edward prince of Wales.
3. Henry earl of Lancaſter.
4. Thomas earl of Warwick.
5. Piers de Greilly, captal of Buch.
6. Ralph lord Stafford.
7. William earl of Saliſbury.
8. Roger earl of March.
9. John lord Liſle.
10. Bartholomew lord Burgherſt.
11. John lord Beauchamp.
12. John lord Mohun of Dunſter.
13. Hugh lord Courtenay.
14. Thomas lord Holland.
15. John lord Gray of Codnore.
16. Sir Richard Fitzſimon.

17. Sir

The celebration of this order was fixed for St. George's day next enſuing, to be held at Windſor, 1344; and the queen was to be preſent, accompanied by three hundred ladies and damſels, all of high birth, and richly dreſſed in ſimilar robes.*

CHAP C.

THE KING OF ENGLAND SETS AT LIBERTY SIR HERVE DE LEON.

WHILST the king of England was employed in making preparations for the reception of the lords and ladies whom he expected at this feaſt, news was brought him of the death of the lord of Cliſſon and the other knights. He was ſo much enraged at it, that he had determined to retaliate upon the body of ſir Hervè de Lèon, who was his priſoner,

17. Sir Miles Stapleton.
18. Sir Thomas Wale.
19. Sir Hugh Wrotteſley.
20. Sir Nele Loring.
21. Sir John Chandos.
22. Lord James Audley.
23. Sir Otho Holland.
24. Sir Henry Eam of Brabant.
25. Sir Sanchio d'Ambreticourt.
26. Sir Walter Paveley.

* The firſt mention of robes for the queen, &c. is An. 7. Ric. 2.; but it is ſuppoſed the cuſtom originated at the Inſtitution. —ASHMOLE.

For further particulars reſpecting the order of the garter, ſee Aſhmole and Anſtis.

and

and would ſurely have executed it, if the earl of Derby, his couſin, had not remonſtrated, and ſhewed in council ſuch good reaſons, as, for the ſake of his own perſonal honour, induced him to refrain from this revenge. He added, 'My lord, if that king Philip has, through raſhneſs, had the villany to put to death ſuch valiant knights as theſe were, do not ſuffer your courage to be tainted by it; for in truth, if you will but conſider a little, your priſoner has nothing to do with this outrage: have a goodneſs, therefore, to give him his liberty, at a reaſonable ranſom.'

The king ordered the captive knight to be brought before him, and ſaid, 'Ha, ſir Hervè, ſir Hervè, my adverſary, Philip de Valois, has ſhewn his treachery in too cruel a manner, when he put to death ſo many knights. It has given me much diſpleaſure; and it appears as it were done in deſpight of us. If I were to take his conduct for my example, I ought to do the like to you; for you have done me more harm in Brittany than any other; but I ſhall endure it, and let him act according to his own will. I will preſerve my own honour unſpotted, and ſhall allow you your liberty at a trifling ranſom, out of my love for the earl of Derby, who has requeſted it; but upon condition, that you perform what I am going to aſk of you.'

The knight replied, 'Dear ſir, I will do, to the beſt of my power, whatever you ſhall command.' The king ſaid, 'I know, ſir Hervè, that you are one of the richeſt knights in Brittany; and, if I

were

were to preſs you, you would pay me thirty or forty-thouſand crowns for your ranſom. But you will go to king Philip de Valois, my adverſary, and tell him from me, that, by putting ſo many knights to death in ſo diſhonourable a manner, he has ſore diſpleaſed me: and I ſay and maintain, that he has, by this means, broken and infringed the truce which we had agreed to; and that, from this moment, I conſider it as broken, and ſend him, by you, my defiance. In conſideration of your carrying this meſſage, I will let you off for ten thouſand crowns, which you will pay, or ſend to Bruges, in five days after you ſhall have croſſed the ſea. You will alſo inform all ſuch knights and ſquires as wiſh to attend my feaſt, for we ſhall be right glad to ſee them, not to deſiſt on this account, for they ſhall have paſſports for their ſafe return, to laſt for fifteen days after it be over.'

'Sir,' anſwered the knight, 'I will perform your meſſage to the beſt of my abilities; and God reward you, and my lord of Derby, for your kindneſs to me.'

Sir Hervé de Léon did not after this remain long in priſon, but, having taken leave of the king, went to Southampton, and embarked on board a veſſel, with the intention of landing at Harfleur. A violent ſtorm, however, which laſted fifteen days, prevented it. He loſt his horſes, as well as thoſe of his ſervants, which were thrown overboard; and he himſelf was ſo ill by it, that he never after enjoyed good health. At laſt the mariners, with

much danger, landed at Crotoy*; from whence ſir Hervé and his ſuite went on foot to Abbeville, where they procured horſes; but ſir Hervé was ſo ill, he could not bear the motion of the horſe: he was therefore put in a litter, and came to Paris, to king Philip, to whom he delivered his meſſage, word for word; but he did not live long. He died in returning to his own country, in the city of Angers. God have mercy on his ſoul!

CHAP. CI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND SENDS THE EARL OF DERBY TO MAKE WAR IN GASCONY.

ST. George's day drew near, when the grand feaſt was to be celebrated at the caſtle of Windſor. The king had made great preparations for it; and there were earls, barons, ladies and damſels moſt nobly entertained. The feſtivities and tilts laſted a fortnight. Many knights came to them from beyond ſea, from Flanders, Hainault, and Brabant, but not one from France.

During the holding of theſe feaſts, the king received intelligence from different countries, particularly from Gaſcony. The lord de l'Eſparre, the lord de Chaumont, the lord de Mucident, were ſent thence by the other barons and knights who

* Crotoy, a town in Picardy, ſituated at the mouth of the Somme, oppoſite to St. Valery.

at

at that time were dependent on the king of England; ſuch as the lord d'Albret, the lord de Pumiers, the lord de Montferrant, the lord of Duras, the [illegible]f Craton, the lord of Grailley, and many others, were likewiſe ſent by the cities of Bourdeaux and [illegible]ne. Theſe ambaſſadors were moſt courteouſly entertained and received by the king and his council; to whom they explained the weakneſs of the country of Gaſcony, and that his good friends in that country and the loyal city of Bourdeaux wanted aid: they therefore intreated, that he would ſend thither ſuch a captain and force of men at arms, as he might think able to make head againſt the French, who kept the field in oppoſition to all that were ſent to meet them.

The king ſoon afterward appointed his coun. the earl of Derby leader of this expedition, and nominated thoſe knights that he had fixed upon to be under him: firſt, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Oxford, the lord Stafford, ſir Walter Manny, ſir Frank van Halle, ſir Henry Eam of Brabant, ſir Richard Fitzſimon, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir Stephen Tombey, ſir Richard Haydon, ſir John Norwich, ſir Richard Radcliffe, ſir Robert Oxendon, and ſeveral more. They were fully three hundred knights and ſquires, ſix hundred men at arms, and two thouſand archers. The king adviſed the earl his couſin to take plenty of gold and ſilver with him, and to beſtow it liberally among the knights and ſquires, in order to acquire their good opinion and affection.

The king alſo, during the time of theſe feſtivals, ſent ſir Thomas Dagworth into Brittany, to reinforce the counteſs of Montfort, and aſſiſt her in preſerving that country; for, notwithſtanding the truce, he doubted not but that king Philip would begin the war, on account of the meſſage he had ſent to him by ſir Hervé de Léon. He therefore diſpatched thither one hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers, under the command of ſir Thomas.

He likewiſe ordered the earl of Saliſbury into the county of D'ulneſtre; for the Scots had rebelled againſt him, had burnt much in Cornwall, and had advanced as far as Briſtol, and beſieged the town of D'ulneſtre*. However, the earl of Saliſbury marched thither, with three hundred men at arms, and ſix hundred archers well appointed. Thus the king ſent forth his people, and directed his treaſurers to deliver out to the commanding officers a

* This paſſage has puzzled me much. Mr. Barnes, in his Life of Edward III., ſays, it was the *young* earl of Saliſbury. One of my MSS. calls him the lord William earl of Saliſbury, which was the name of the earl's ſon. But Dugdale contents himſelf with ſaying, that in the 18th of Edward III., 'the earl of Saliſbury' (ſpeaking of the firſt earl) 'was ſent into the north, with the earl of Ulſter, one hundred men at arms, and ſix hundred archers, againſt the Scots, then in hoſtility.'

If the Scots had advanced to Briſtol, then it may perhaps be Dunſter caſtle.

Froiſſart ſeems to have been under a miſtake, from miſinformation, as I cannot find any traces of this invaſion.

ſufficiency of money for their own expenſes, and to pay their fellow-ſoldiers; and each ſet out, according to the orders he had received.

We will ſpeak firſt of the earl of Derby, as he had the greateſt charge, which he conducted to Southampton, and, embarking on board the fleet ſtationed there for him, made ſail for Bayonne: it was a handſome city, and had always held out for the Engliſh. He arrived there without accident, on the 6th day of June 1344, when he diſembarked and landed all his ſtores: they were joyfully received by the inhabitants, and he remained there ſeven days, to refreſh himſelf and his horſes.

The earl of Derby and his army left Bayonne the eighth day after his arrival, and ſet out for Bourdeaux, where a grand proceſſion came out to receive him. The earl was lodged in the abbey of St. Andrew, and his people within the city.

When the count de Liſle was informed of the arrival of the Engliſh, he ſent for the count de Comminges, the count de Perigord, the count de Carmain, the viſcount de Villemur, the count Duras, the count de Valentinois, the count de Mirande, the lord of Mirade, the lord de la Barde, the lord of Pincornet, the viſcount de Châtillon, the lord of Chateauneuf, the lord de Leſcun, the abbot of St. Savin, and for all the other lords who were attached to the king of France.

As ſoon as they were all aſſembled, he demanded their counſel on the arrival of the earl of Derby. The lords, in reply, ſaid, they were ſufficiently ſtrong to defend the paſſage of the river Dordogne,

at Bergerac, againſt the Engliſh. This anſwer mightily pleaſed the count de Liſle, who was at that time like a king in Gaſcony, and had been ſo ſince the commencement of the wars between the two kings. He had taken the field, captured towns and caſtles, and waged war upon all who were of the Engliſh party.

Theſe lords ſent immediately to aſſemble their dependents on all ſides, and advanced to Bergerac, where they entered the ſuburbs, which are large, ſtrong, and partly ſurrounded by the Dordogne. They had all their purveyances brought to them there in ſafety.

CHAP. CII.

THE EARL OF DERBY CONQUERS BERGERAC*.

WHEN the earl of Derby had remained at Bourdeaux for about fifteen days, he was informed that the barons and knights of Gaſcony were in Bergerac: he therefore, one morning, marched that way with his army, and ordered his marſhals, ſir Walter Manny and ſir Frank van Halle, to puſh forward. The Engliſh marched that morning no more than three leagues, to a caſtle called Montcroullier, which belonged to them, and was ſituated a ſhort league from Bergerac.

At this caſtle of Montcroullier, they tarried that day and night. The day following, their ſcouts

* A populous town in Perigord, dioceſe of Perigueux.

were

were ſent as far as the barriers of Bergerac; and, on their return, they related to ſir Walter Mamny, that they had reconnoitred the poſition of the French, which did not appear to them any thing very formidable. This day, the Engliſh dined early; and, during the repaſt, ſir Walter Mamny, addreſſing himſelf to the earl of Derby, ſaid, 'My lord, if we were good knights, and well armed, we might, this evening, partake of the wines of theſe French lords who are in garriſon in Bergerac.' The earl anſwered, 'that it ſhould not be his fault if they did not.' When their companions heard this, they ſaid, 'Let us haſten to arm ourſelves; for we will ride towards Bergerac.' It was no ſooner ſaid than done: they were all armed, and mounted, in an inſtant.

When the earl of Derby perceived ſuch willingneſs in his men, he was exceedingly joyful, and cried out, 'In the name of God, and of St. George, let us march to our enemies.'

They then rode on, with banners diſplayed, during the greateſt heat of the day, until they came to the barriers of Bergerac: which was not a place eaſily to be taken, for a part of the river Dordogne ſurrounded it.

The French lords who were in the town, ſeeing the Engliſh coming to attack them, ſaid they ſhould be well received, and ſallied forth in battle array: they had with them a multitude of foot ſoldiers, and country people badly armed. The Engliſh made their approaches in cloſe order, ſo that they were plainly to be diſtinguiſhed by the townſmen,

and the archers began to ſhoot thickly. When the foot ſoldiers felt the points of the arrows, and ſaw the banners and pennons glittering in the air, which they had not been accuſtomed to ſee, they fell back upon their own men at arms: the archers continued to ſhoot with great quickneſs, doing much miſchief to them.

The lords of England then advanced, mounted on their excellent courſers, with lances in their reſts, and, daſhing into the midſt of this infantry, drove them down at pleaſure, and killed and wounded the French men at arms in abundance; for they could not in any way exert themſelves, as theſe runaways had blocked up the road.

There was a ſevere engagement, and many were killed and unhorſed: for the Engliſh archers, being poſted on each ſide of the road, ſhot ſo well together, that no one dared to venture upon it. Thus were thoſe of Bergerac driven back again to the ſuburbs, but with ſo much loſs, that the firſt bridge and bars were taken by ſtorm, and the Engliſh entered with them. Upon the pavement, were many knights and ſquires ſlain and wounded, and many priſoners made, of thoſe who came forward to defend the paſſage. The lord of Mirepoix was ſlain, under the banner of ſir Walter Manny, who was the firſt that entered theſe ſuburbs.

When the count de Lille ſaw that the Engliſh had got poſſeſſion of the ſuburbs, and were knocking down and killing his people without mercy, he and the other lords of Gaſcony made a handſome retreat towards the town, and paſſed the bridge with

with great difficulty. At this place, the engagement was very ſevere, and laſted a conſiderable time: the noblemen of France and of England, named in the preceding chapters, combated moſt valiantly hand to hand: neither knight nor bachelor could there conceal himſelf.

Sir Walter Manny had advanced ſo far among his enemies, that he was in great danger. The Engliſh made priſoners of the viſcount de Bouſquetin, the lords of Châtillon, of Chateauneuf, and of Leſeun. The French retreated into the fort, let down the portcullis, and, getting upon the battlements, began to throw ſtones and other things, to drive their enemies away.

This aſſault and ſkirmiſh laſted until veſpers, when the Engliſh retreated, quite weary, into the ſuburbs, which they had won; where they found ſuch quantities of proviſion and wine, that might, on occaſion, have laſted them for four months moſt plentifully.

When the morrow dawned, the earl of Derby had his trumpets ſounded, and his forces drawn out in battle array, to approach the town, and make a mighty aſſault, which laſted until noon. They had not much ſucceſs; for they found that there were within it men at arms who defended themſelves valiantly. At noontide, the Engliſh retreated, perceiving that they only loſt their time.

The lords then aſſembled in council, and determined to attack the town on the ſide next the river; for it was there only fortified by paliſades. The earl of Derby ſent therefore to the fleet at Bourdeaux

deaux for veſſels, which he ordered to come to him up the Dordogne: there were upwards of ſixty barks and other veſſels lying at Bourdeaux, that came to Bergerac.

In the evening of the following day, the Engliſh made their arrangements, and at ſun-riſe, all thoſe who were ordered to attack the town, and the fleet, were quite ready, under the command of the lord Stafford. There were many knights and ſquires who had requeſted to be on this expedition, in hopes of preferment, as well as a body of archers.

They advanced in haſte, and came to ſome large round piles placed before the paliſades, which they flung down. The townſmen, ſeeing this, went to the count de Liſle, the lords, knights and ſquires who were preſent, and ſaid to them, 'Gentlemen, we pray you to take heed what you are about; for we run a great riſk of being ruined. If the town be taken, we ſhall loſe all we have, as well as our lives: it will therefore be much better that we ſurrender it to the earl of Derby, before we ſuffer more damage.' The count replied, 'We will go to that part where you ſay the danger is; for we will not conſent to ſurrender it ſo eaſily.' The Gaſcon knights and ſquires came, therefore, to defend the paliſades; but the archers, who were in the barks, kept up ſo quick an attack with their arrows, that none dared to ſhew themſelves, unleſs they choſe to run the riſk of being killed or wounded.

In the town, there were with the Gaſcons two or three hundred Genoeſe croſs-bowmen, whoſe armour

mour ſhielded them from the arrows: they kept the archers well employed all the day, and many on each ſide were wounded. At laſt, the Engliſh who were in the veſſels exerted themſelves ſo much, that they broke down a large piece of the paliſades; thoſe of Bergerac then retreated, and requeſted time to conſider, if they ſhould not ſurrender the place. The remainder of that day and night was granted them, upon condition that they did not attempt to repair the breaches: and every one retired to his quarters.

The lords of Gaſcony held, that night, a long council; and, about midnight, having packed up all their baggage, they ſet out from Bergerac, and followed the road to la Rèole,* which is not far diſtant, whoſe gates were opened to them, and there they took up their quarters.

The Engliſh, on the morrow morning, re-embarked on board their fleet, and came to the part where the paliſades had been broken down: they found in that place great numbers of the townſmen, who intreated the knights, that they would beſeech the earl of Derby to have mercy on them, and allow them their lives and fortunes, and from thenceforward they would yield obedience to the king of England.

The earl of Pembroke and the earl of Oxford replied, they would cheerfully comply with their requeſt, and went to the earl of Derby who was not preſent, and related to him what the inhabitants

* Rèole,—a town of the Bazadois, on the Garonne

of

of Bergerac had deſired of them. The earl of Derby anſwered, 'He who begs for mercy ſhould have mercy ſhewn him: tell them to open their gates, and let us enter, when we will aſſure them of ſafety from us and from our people.' The two lords returned, and reported what the earl had ſaid. Upon which, the townſmen went to the market-place, where every one, men and women being aſſembled, they rang the bells, threw open the gates, went out in proceſſion to meet the earl of Derby, and, with all humility, conducted him to the church where they ſwore homage and fealty to him, acknowledging him as their lord, for the king of England, by virtue of a procuration which he had with him.

CHAP. CIII.

THE EARL OF DERBY CONQUERS MANY TOWNS AND FORTRESSES IN UPPER GASCONY.

THE ſame day that the count de Liſle, the barons and knights of Gaſcony had retreated to la Rèole, they held a counſel, and reſolved to ſeparate and withdraw into fortreſſes, to carry on the war from theſe garriſons, and to form a body of four or five hundred combatants, by way of frontier guard, under the command of the ſeneſchal of Toulouſe. The count de Villemur was ordered to Auberoche;* ſir Bertrand des Pres to Pellegrue;† the lord Philip

* In Perigord, dioceſe of Perigueux.

† A ſmall town of Condomois, in the dioceſe of Condom.

de

de Dyon to Montagret;* the lord of Montbrandon to Mauduran; ſir Arnold de Dyon to Montgis; Robert de Malmore to Beaumont, in Laillois; ſir Charles de Poitiers to Pemnes in the Agenois. All theſe knights departed for their different garriſons; but the count de Lille remained in la Rèole, and had the fortreſs put in proper repair.

When the earl of Derby had taken poſſeſſion of Bergerac, and ſtaid there two days, he aſked the ſeneſchal of Bourdeaux, what was moſt adviſable for him next to undertake, as he wiſhed not to remain idle. The ſeneſchal replied, that he thought it would be beſt to go towards Perigord and upper Gaſcony. The earl of Derby then gave out his orders to march to Perigord, and left ſir John de la Sauté† captain of Bergerac. As the Engliſh advanced, they came to a caſtle called Langon,‡ of which the provoſt of Toulouſe was governor: they halted there, not thinking it prudent to leave ſuch a poſt in their rear, and the marſhal's battalion immediately began the aſſault, which laſted all that day, but they gained nothing. Almoſt the whole army was employed againſt it the next day; and, with wood and faggots, they filled up the ditches, ſo that they could approach the walls.

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* A town in Perigord, dioceſe of Perigueux.

† In one MS. it is Souce: in Barnes' hiſtory of Edward III., ſir John St. John; but he does not mention his authority for ſo alte'ing it. In my printed copies, and another MS. it is Sauté, and is ſo in lord Berner's tranſlation.

‡ Langon,—a town in Bazadois, upon the Garonne, about ſix leagues from Bourdeaux.

Sir

Sir Frank van Halle aſked the beſieged if they were willing to ſurrender, becauſe they might delay it until it was too late. Upon this, they demanded a truce to conſider of it, which being granted them, after ſome little time ſpent in counſel, they all ſet out for Monſac,* in the French intereſt, but took nothing with them. The earl of Derby appointed a ſquire, called Aymon Lyon, governor of the caſtle of Langon,† and gave him thirty archers.

The earl of Derby then rode on towards a town called Le Lac; but the townſmen came out to meet him, brought him the keys of the town, and ſwore homage and fealty to him. The earl paſſed on, and came to Mandarant, which he took by ſtorm: after he had placed a garriſon in the fortreſs, he came before the caſtle of Montgis, won it in the ſame manner, and ſent the governor priſoner to Bourdeaux. He afterwards advanced to Punach, which he took, and did the ſame to the town and caſtle of Lieux,‡ where he ſtaid three days, to refreſh himſelf and army. On the fourth day, he marched to Forſath,§ which he gained eaſily enough, and then the town of Pondaire. He next came to a town of conſiderable ſize, called Beaumont en Laillois, which was a dependency on the count de Liſle. The earl was three days before it, and many vigorous attacks were made; for it was

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* A town in Perigord, dioceſe of Sarlat.

† Barnes calls him an *Engliſh* ſquire, *Timothy* Lyon; but I ſee no authority for it.

‡ In Gaſcony, dioceſe of Comminges.

§ Fronſac,—upon the Dordogne, ſix leagues from Bourdeaux.

well provided with men at arms and artillery, who defended themſelves as long as they were able: at laſt it was taken, with much ſlaughter on all thoſe that were found in it.

The earl of Derby recruited his forces there with freſh men at arms, and then advanced towards the principal town of the inheritance of the count de Liſle, which was under the command of the lord Philip de Dyon and the lord Arnold de Dyon. He inveſted it on all ſides, and made his archers advance to the barriers, where they ſhot ſo well that none durſt appear to defend them: the Engliſh, having won the barriers, and every thing even to the gate, retired in the evening. On the next morning, they received the attack in different places at once, and gave thoſe within ſo much to do, that they did not know which way to defend themſelves.

The inhabitants therefore requeſted two knights who were there, to treat with the earl of Derby for a peace, that their fortunes might be ſaved. They ſent before them an herald, who obtained a ſhort truce, to ſee if any agreement could be entered into. The earl of Derby ordered his men to retire, and came himſelf, accompanied by the lord Stafford and ſir Walter Manny to the bars, to confer with the inhabitants. The earl, at firſt, would hear of nothing but unconditional ſubmiſſion: at laſt it was ſettled, that the town ſhould put itſelf under the dependency of the king of England, as duke of Guienne, and that twelve of the principal citizens ſhould be ſent to Bourdeaux, as hoſtages. The French knights and ſquires left the place with paſſports, and went to la Rèole.

CHAP.

CHAP. CIV.

THE EARL OF OXFORD IS TAKEN PRISONER IN GASCONY, BUT SET AT LIBERTY BY EXCHANGE.

AFTER this conqueſt, and that the earl of Derby had left there men at arms and archers, he came before Bonneval,* and made a violent attack upon it, in which many were killed and wounded. At laſt he took it, and ſhewed mercy. After he had reinforced it with men at arms, and another governor, he puſhed forward, and, entering the county of Perigord, paſſed by Bordelles,† but did not attack it, as he ſaw it would be only pains thrown away.

He ſtill advanced, until he came before Perigueux.‡ There was in the town the earl of Perigord, the lord Roger de Perigord his brother, the lord of Duras, and fully ſixſcore knights and ſquires of that country.

When the earl of Derby came there, he conſidered in what manner he might attack it moſt advantageouſly, for he ſaw it was very ſtrong. But, after having maturely weighed it, he thought it moſt prudent not to waſte his time: he therefore retreated two leagues, and took up his quarters upon the banks of a river, in order to attack the caſtle of Pelagrue.§

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* A village in the dioceſe of Agen.

† A village in Bazadois, election of Condom.

‡ Capital of Perigord.

§ A town in the Condomois.

Towards

Towards midnight, about two hundred lances, well mounted, ſallied out of Perigueux: they rode ſo faſt, that before day-light they came to the Engliſh camp, and falling upon it, killed and wounded many. They entered the tent of the earl of Oxford, whom they found arming himſelf: he was immediately attacked, and taken priſoner, as well as three knights of his houſehold, otherwiſe he would have been ſlain. The Gaſcons finding they had awakened the whole army, retired, and took their road to Perigueux.

It was time for them to do ſo: and fortunately they found the gates of the barriers open; for they were ſo cloſely purſued, that they were thrown into confuſion: but the Gaſcons, as ſoon as they could rally themſelves, diſmounted, and, ſword in hand, fought with the Engliſh, and maintained their ground ſo well, that they loſt nothing.

The Engliſh returned to the earl of Derby, who marched forward until he came before Pelagrue, where he remained ſix days, and many an aſſault was made upon it. During the time he continued there, the earl of Oxford and his companions were exchanged, for the viſcount de Bouſquetin, the viſcount de Châtillon, the lord of Leſcun, the lord of Chateauneuf; and upon condition that the lands of Perigord ſhould remain in peace for three years: not, however, but that any knight or ſquire might take up arms, without forfeiting the treaty; but nothing was to be burnt or pillaged in that country for that ſpace of time. The Engliſh, therefore, departed from before Pelagrue, as it was part of Perigord,

gord, and rode towards Auberoche,† where there is a handſome and ſtrong caſtle, appertaining to the archbiſhop of Toulouſe.

The Engliſh took up their quarters round about it, as if they meant to remain there for a length of time, and ſent word to thoſe within, that if they did not ſurrender ſpeedily, when the town was taken, they ſhould be all put to the ſword without mercy. The inhabitants of the town and caſtle were much alarmed; and, ſeeing no appearance of any ſuccour coming to them, they put themſelves under the obedience of the earl of Derby, upon condition that their lives and fortunes were ſpared, and acknowledged him as their lord, for the king of England.

The earl then made a handſome retreat towards Bourdeaux, having left in Auberoche a ſufficient garriſon, under the command of ſir Frank van Halle, ſir Alain de Finefroide, and ſir John Lendal.

On his road he came to Libourne, a fair and large town, twelve leagues from Bourdeaux; to which he laid ſiege, and told thoſe about him, that he would not quit it before he had got poſſeſſion of it. The inhabitants conſulted together; and conſidering well the good and evil of being aſſaulted and vexed, they ſurrendered themſelves to the earl of Derby, and did homage to him during the three days he remained there.

The earl of Derby ſent the earl of Pembroke to Bergerac, and left the lord Staſford, ſir Steven de

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* A town in Perigord.

Courcy,

Courcy, and the lord Alexander de Haulfiel,* with their men, in Libourne. He himſelf, accompanied by the earl of Oxford and ſir Walter Manny, took the road for Bourdeaux, where they arrived.

CHAP. CV.

THE COUNT DE LISLE, LIEUTENANT FOR THE KING OF FRANCE IN GASCONY, LAYS SIEGE TO THE CASTLE OF AUBEROCHE.

THE earl was joyfully received on his return to Bourdeaux: the clergy and inhabitants of the town came out to meet him, in a grand proceſſion: they allowed him to take proviſions, and whatever elſe he deſired, according to his will and pleaſure; and he and his army continued in the town, amuſing themſelves with the citizens and their wives.

We will now return to the count de Liſle, whom we left in la Rèole: as ſoon as he was informed that the earl of Derby had returned to Bourdeaux, and had taken up his reſidence there, he did not think it probable he would undertake any more expeditions this ſeaſon. He ſent letters, therefore, to the earls of Perigord, of Carmain, of Comminges, of Bruniguel, and to all the barons of Gaſcony that were in the French intereſt, to deſire that they would collect as many people as they could, and come with them properly armed, by an appointed day, to meet him at Auberoche, as he intended to beſiege it.

* Barnes makes him ſir Alexander Huſſey.

They all obeyed his ſummons; for he was as a king in theſe parts of Gaſcony.

The knights who were in Auberoche were not aware of this, until they found themſelves ſo cloſely beſieged on all ſides that no one could go out of the garriſon without being ſeen.

The French brought from Toulouſe four large machines, which caſt ſtones into the fortreſs night and day; and they made no other aſſault; ſo that in ſix days time they had demoliſhed all the roofs of the towers, and none within the caſtle dared to venture out of the vaulted rooms on the ground floor. It was the intention of the army to kill all within the caſtle, if they would not ſurrender themſelves unconditionally.

News was brought to the earl of Derby, that Auberoche was beſieged; but he did not imagine his friends were ſo hard puſhed. When ſir Frank van Halle, ſir Alain de Fincfroide, and ſir John Lendal, who were thus beſieged, ſaw how deſperate their ſituation was, they aſked their ſervants, if there were not one among them who would, for a reward, undertake to deliver the letters they had written to the earl of Derby at Bourdeaux? One from among them ſtepped forward, and ſaid, He would be the man, who would cheerfully undertake the commiſſion, not through luſt of gain, but from his deſire to deliver them from the peril they were in. The following night the ſervant took the letters, ſealed with their ſeals, and ſewed them up in his clothes. He was let down into the ditches: when he was at the bottom, he climbed up the oppoſite ſide,

ſide, and took his road through the army; for he could not avoid paſſing through it. He was met by the firſt guard, but was not ſtopped, for he underſtood the Gaſcon language well, and named one of the lords of the army, as if belonging to him; ſo he was ſuffered to paſs on: but he was afterward arreſted, and detained under the tents of ſome other lords who brought him to the main watch. He was interrogated, ſearched, and the letters found upon him, and guarded until morning, when the principals of the army aſſembled in the tent of the count de Liſle, where the letters were read. They were rejoiced to find that the garriſon was ſo much ſtraitened, that they could not hold out longer; and, ſeizing the ſervant, they hung the letters round his neck, thruſt him into one of the machines, and flung him into Auberoche. The valet fell quite dead amidſt the other valets of the caſtle, who were much terrified at it.

About this time, the earl of Perigord, his uncle ſir Charles de Poitiers, the earl of Carmain and the lord of Duras, mounting their horſes, rode as near to the walls of the caſtle as they could, and, calling out to thoſe within by way of deriſion, ſaid, 'Gentlemen, inquire of your meſſenger where he found the earl of Derby, and whether he is prepared to aſſiſt you, ſince your man was ſo eager to quit your fortreſs, and has returned as quickly.' Sir Frank van Halle replied, 'By my faith, gentlemen, if we be ſo cloſely confined in this place, we will ſally forth whenever it ſhall pleaſe God and the earl of Derby. I wiſh to Heaven he were acquainted with

our ſituation; for if he were, the proudeſt of you all would be afraid of ſtanding your ground; and, if you will ſend any one to give him this information, one of us will ſurrender himſelf to you, to be ranſomed as becomes a gentleman.' The French anſwered, 'Nay, nay, matters muſt not turn out ſo: the earl of Derby, in proper time, ſhall be made acquainted with it; but not until our engines have battered your walls level with the ground, and you ſhall have ſurrendered yourſelves to ſave your lives.'

'That, for certain, will never happen,' ſaid ſir Frank van Halle; 'for we will not ſurrender ourſelves, ſhould we all die upon the walls.' The French lords then rode on, and returned to their army. The three Engliſh knights remained in Auberoche, quite confounded by the force of theſe engines, which flung ſuch quantities of ſtones, that in truth it ſeemed as if the thunder from heaven were battering the walls of the caſtle.

CHAP. CVI.

THE EARL OF DERBY MAKES THE COUNT OF LISLE AND NINE MORE COUNTS AND VISCOUNTS PRISONERS, BEFORE AUBEROCHE.

ALL theſe ſpeeches, the treatment of the meſſenger, the contents of the letters, and the perilous ſituation of Auberoche, were known to the earl of Derby, by means of a ſpy he had in the French army. The earl, therefore, ſent orders to the

the earl of Pembroke in Bergerac, to meet him at an appointed place and hour; and alſo to the lord Stafford and ſir Stephen Tombey, who were at Libourne. The earl of Derby then, accompanied by ſir Walter Manny and the forces he had with him, took the road towards Auberoche as ſecretly as poſſible; for he had guides who were acquainted with all the bye-roads They came to Libourne, where they ſtaid a whole day for the earl of Pembroke; but hearing no tidings of him, and being impatient to ſuccour their friends who were ſo diſtreſſed, the earl of Derby, the earl of Oxford, ſir Walter Manny, ſir Richard Haſtings, ſir Stephen Tombey, the lord Ferrers, and other knights, ſet out for Libourne: riding all night, they came on the morrow within two leagues of Auberoche. They entered a wood, when, alighting from their horſes, they tied them to the trees, and allowed them to paſture, in expectation of the arrival of the earl of Pembroke: they waited all that morning, and until noon, in vain, not knowing what to do; for they were but three hundred lances and ſix hundred archers, and the French were from ten to twelve thouſand men. They thought it would be cowardice to ſuffer their friends to be loſt, when they were ſo near them. At laſt, ſir Walter Manny ſaid, 'Gentlemen, let us who are now here mount our horſes, ſkirt this wood, and advance until we come to their camp: when we ſhall be cloſe to it, we will ſtick ſpurs into our horſes, and, with loud ſhouts, fall upon them. It will be about their hour for ſupper; and we ſhall ſee them ſo much diſcom-

ſited, that they can never rally again.' The knights preſent replied, that they would all do as he had propoſed. Each went to his horſe, re-girthed him, and tightened his armour: they ordered their pages, ſervants and baggage to remain where they were.

They advanced in ſilence, by the ſide of the wood, until they came to the other end, where the French army was encamped in a wide valley, near a ſmall river: they then diſplayed their banners and pennons, and ſticking ſpurs into their horſes, daſhed into the midſt of the French and Gaſcon forces, who were quite confounded and unprepared for this attack, as they were buſy about their ſuppers, many having ſet down to table.

The Engliſh were well prepared to act, and crying, 'Derby, Derby for ever!' they cut down tents and pavilions, and ſlew and wounded all that came in their way. The French did not know where to turn, ſo much were they ſurpriſed; and when they got into the plains, if there were any large body of them, the archers and croſs bowmen made ſuch good uſe of their weapons, that they were ſlain or diſperſed.

The count de Liſle was taken, in his tent, badly wounded; the earl of Perigord in his pavilion, and alſo ſir Charles his uncle: the lord of Duras was killed, and ſo was ſir Aymery de Poitiers; but his brother, the earl of Valentinois, was made priſoner. Every one took to his heels as faſt as he could; but the earl of Comminges, the earls of Carmain, Villemur and Bruniguel, the lords de la Barde and

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de la Taride, with others, who were quartered on the oppoſite ſide of the caſtle, diſplayed their banners, and, having drawn up their men, marched for the plain: the Engliſh, however, who had already defeated the largeſt body of the army, fell upon them moſt vigorouſly. In this engagement, many gallant deeds of arms were performed, many captures made, and many reſcues.

As ſoon as ſir Frank van Halle and ſir John Lendal, who were in Auberoche, heard the noiſe, and perceived the banners and pennons of their friends, they haſtened to arm themſelves, and all thoſe that were with them; when, mounting their horſes, they ſallied out of the fortreſs, made for the plain, and daſhed into the thickeſt of the combat, to the great encouragement of the Engliſh.

Why ſhould I make a long ſtory of it? All thoſe who were of the count de Liſle's party were diſcomfited, and almoſt all taken priſoners, or ſlain. Scarcely any would have eſcaped, if night had not cloſed ſo ſoon. Nine earls and viſcounts were made priſoners, and ſo many barons, knights and ſquires, that there was not a man at arms among the Engliſh, that had not for his ſhare two or three. This battle before Auberoche was fought on the eve of St. Laurence's day, in the year 1344.

The Engliſh treated their priſoners like friends: they received many upon their promiſes to ſurrender themſelves by a certain day at Bourdeaux, or Bergerac. The Engliſh retired into Auberoche; and the earl of Derby entertained at ſupper the greater part of the priſoners, earls, viſcounts, barons, and

knights. They gave thanks and praiſes to God, for having enabled them to overcome upwards of ten thouſand men, when they themſelves were not more than one thouſand, including every one, and to reſcue the town and caſtle of Auberoche, in which were their friends, that muſt have been captured in two days time.

On the next morning, a little after ſun-riſe, the earl of Pembroke arrived with three hundred lances and four thouſand archers; he had been informed of the event of the battle as they came along, and ſaid to the earl of Derby, 'Certainly, couſin, you have neither been courteous, nor behaved honourably, to fight my enemies without waiting for me, ſeeing that you had ſent for me; and you might have been aſſured, that nothing ſhould have prevented my coming to you.' The earl replied, 'Fair couſin, we were very anxious for your arrival, and we waited for you from the morning until veſpers: when we ſaw no appearance of your coming, we dared not wait longer; for had our enemies been informed of our arrival, they would have had the advantage over us; but now, thanks to God, we have conquered them, and we pray of you to help us in conducting them to Bourdeaux.'

They remained that day and night in Auberoche: on the next day early, they were armed and mounted, and ſet off, leaving there a Gaſcon knight, in their intereſt, as governor, named the lord Alexander of Chaumont. They took the road to Bourdeaux, and carried with them the greater part of their priſoners.

CHAP.

CHAP. CVII.

THE EARL OF DERBY TAKES DIFFERENT TOWNS IN GASCONY, IN HIS ROAD TOWARDS LA REOLE.

THE earl of Derby and his army, upon their arrival at Bourdeaux, were received with very great rejoicings: the inhabitants though they never could enough teſtify their joy to the earl, and to ſir Walter Manny, for their enterprize; in which the count de Liſle, and more than two hundred knights were made priſoners.

The winter paſſed over, without any action taking place in Gaſcony that is worthy of being recorded.

Eaſter, which may be reckoned the beginning of the year 1345, was about the middle of May, and the earl of Derby, who had tarried all the winter in Bourdeaux, collected a very large body of men at arms and archers, and declared he would make an expedition to la Réole, where the French had fixed their head-quarters.

He went, the firſt day, from Bourdeaux to Bergerac, where he found the earl of Pembroke, ready with his troops. Theſe two noblemen, with their forces, remained for three days in Bergerac, and on the fourth departed. When they were got into the open country, they halted their men, counted them, and found that they had about a thouſand men at arms, and two thouſand archers.

They puſhed forward, until they came to a caſtle called St. Baſile, to which they laid ſiege. Thoſe within,

within, conſidering that the principal barons of Gaſcony were priſoners, and that they had no expectations of receiving ſuccours from any place, reſolved to ſwear fealty to king Edward of England.

The earl of Derby continued his route, and took the road towards Aiguillon*; but, before he arrived there, he came to the caſtle of Roche-milon, which was well provided with ſoldiers and artillery; nevertheleſs, the earl ordered it to be vigorouſly aſſaulted.

As the Engliſh advanced to the attack, thoſe within threw down upon them ſtones, bars of iron, and pots full of hot lime; by which many were ſlain and wounded, who adventured themſelves too raſhly.

When the earl of Derby perceived that his men were labouring in vain, and getting themſelves killed, without any advantage, he ſounded a retreat: on the morrow, he ordered the peaſants to bring great quantities of bruſhwood, faggots, ſtraw, and turf, and to throw them all into the ditches of the caſtle, and plenty of earth with them. When a part of the ditch was ſo filled that one might get to the foot of the walls, he aſſembled three hundred archers, well armed, and in battle array, and ſent before them two hundred countrymen covered with ſhields, having large pick-axes and hooks: whilſt theſe firſt were employed in picking the walls, the archers made ſuch good uſe of their bows, that

* A town of Guienne, ſituated at the confluence of the Lot and Garonne.

no one dared to ſhew himſelf on the battlements. This laſted the greateſt part of the day, when the pick-axe men made ſo large a breach in the walls, that ten men might enter a-breaſt. The inhabitants of the town and caſtle were quite confounded; ſome fled towards the church, and others, by a back way, out of the town. The fortreſs was immediately taken and pillaged; and all the garriſon were put to death, excepting ſuch as had taken refuge in the church, whom the earl of Derby pardoned, for they had ſubmitted to his mercy.

The earl placed in the caſtle a freſh garriſon, under the command of two Engliſh captains, Richard Willes and Robert Scot; and then he came before Monſegur*, where he ordered his men to prepare huts for themſelves and horſes: he continued before it fifteen days.

The governor of the town was ſir Hugh de Baſtefol, and there never paſſed a day without ſome aſſault being made upon it. They ſent for large machines from Bourdeaux and Bergerac; and the ſtones which they caſt into the town, deſtroyed roofs, tiles, and the principal buildings.

The earl of Derby ſent every day, to let them know, that if they ſuffered the town to be ſtormed, every one would be put to the ſword; but, if they would render obedience to the king of England, he would pardon them, and treat them like friends.

The townſmen would cheerfully have ſurrendered; and they went to the governor, to conſult him,

* A town of Bazadois, election of Condom, near to la Réole.

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and to ſound his intentions, who anſwered them by ordering them to the battlements, for that he had proviſion of every ſort in ſufficiency to hold out for half a year, if it were neceſſary. They left him in apparent good humour; but, about the time of veſpers, they ſeized him, and cloſely confined him; aſſuring him, at the ſame time, he ſhould never be ſet at liberty, if he did not aſſiſt them to make ſome terms with the earl of Derby. When he had ſworn that he would do every thing in his power, they let him go: he went directly to the barriers of the town, and made ſigns that he wiſhed to ſpeak with the earl of Derby. Sir Walter Manny, being preſent, came to the governor, who ſaid to him, 'Sir Walter Manny, you ought not to be ſurpriſed if we ſhut our gates againſt you, for we have ſworn fealty to the king of France; but not perceiving any one coming from him to ſtop your career, and believing that you will ſtill proceed further: for theſe reaſons, in behalf of myſelf and the inhabitants of this town, we wiſh you would allow us theſe terms, namely, that no hoſtilities be carried on againſt us for the ſpace of one month; and if in that time the king of France, or the duke of Normandy, come into this country in ſuch force as to give you battle, we then ſhall hold ourſelves free from our engagement; but if neither of them come, we will then enter under the obedience of the king of England.'

Sir Walter Manny went to relate this propoſal to the earl of Derby, who acceded to it, upon condition that there ſhould not in the mean time be any repairs

repairs made to the fortifications of the town, and that, if any of the Engliſh army ſhould want proviſions, they might be at liberty to purchaſe them. Upon this, there were ſent twelve of the principal citizens as hoſtages, who were ordered to Bourdeaux. The Engliſh refreſhed themſelves with proviſions from the town, but none were ſuffered to enter it.

They then continued their march, burning and deſtroying all the country as far as Aiguillon: the governor of which place came out to meet the earl, and ſurrendered the town and caſtle to him, on condition of their lives and fortunes being ſpared, to the great aſtoniſhment of all the country, for it was one of the ſtrongeſt caſtles in the world, and almoſt impregnable.

When the ſquire, who had thus ſurrendered Aiguillon, came to Touloufe, which is ſeventeen leagues diſtant, the townſmen arreſted him, on ſuſpicion of treaſon, and hung him. This caſtle is ſituated on the point between two navigable rivers. The earl ordered it to be re-victualled, and the fortifications repaired, in order to its being fit to receive him on his return, and that it might ſerve for a ſecure guard to his other poſſeſſions. He gave the command of it to ſir John de Gombry*. He then came to a caſtle called Segart, which he took

* Barnes ſays, to the lord John Moubray; but I do not ſee upon what grounds. I ſhould rather imagine it was *John de Montgomerie*, who was captain of Calais in the 21ſt of Edward III., and had other charges of truſt.

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by ſtorm, and put all the foreign ſoldiers he found in it to death; from thence he came to the town of la Réole.

CHAP. CVIII.

THE EARL OF DERBY LAYS SIEGE TO LA REOLE, WHICH SURRENDERS TO HIM.

WHEN the earl of Derby was arrived at la Réole, he encompaſſed it cloſely all round, erecting towers in the plains, and near to every road, that no proviſion of any kind could enter it. He cauſed it to be aſſaulted almoſt every day. This ſiege took up much of the ſummer; and, when the time had expired which thoſe of Monſegur had fixed for ſurrendering themſelves, the earl of Derby ſent thither, and the inhabitants of the town became liege men to the earl, who, in all theſe caſes, was the repreſentative of the king of England. Even ſir Hugh de Baſtefol ſerved under the earl, with the men of Monſegur, for a certain ſalary, which he received from the ſaid earl, for himſelf and his fellow-ſoldiers.

The Engliſh, who were beſieging la Réole, had lain before it more than nine weeks, and had conſtructed two large towers of great beams of wood, three ſtories high: each tower was placed on wheels, and covered over with prepared leather, to ſhelter thoſe within from fire and from the arrows: in each ſtory were one hundred archers. Theſe two towers, by dint of men's force, were puſhed cloſe

to

to the walls of the town; for, during the time they were building, they had filled up the ditches, ſo that theſe towers could eaſily paſs over them. Thoſe that were in them began immediately to ſhoot ſo well and quick, that none dared to appear upon the battlements unleſs he were well armed, or had a ſhield. Between theſe two towers were poſted two hundred men with pick-axes and bars, to make a breach in the walls; which they did, and caſt away the ſtones. The inhabitants, ſeeing this, came upon the walls, and inquired for ſome of the chiefs of the army, to ſpeak to them. The earl of Derby, being informed of it, ſent thither ſir Walter Manny and the lord Stafford, who found the townſmen willing to ſurrender the town, on condition of their lives and fortunes being ſpared.

When the governor, ſir Agos de Bans, a Provençal, found that the inhabitants wanted to ſurrender the town, he retired into the caſtle of la Rèole, with his fellow-ſoldiers; and, whilſt this treaty was going on, he had conveyed into it great quantities of wine and other proviſion. He then ordered the gates to be faſtened, and ſaid, he would never ſurrender in ſo ſhameful a manner.

The two knights returned to the earl of Derby, and related to him that the townſmen were deſirous of ſurrendering upon the terms above named: the earl ſent them back, to know what the governor's intentions were reſpecting the caſtle. They returned with the anſwer, that he had ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle, and would not yield it. After a little conſideration, the earl ſaid, 'Well, well, let

us have compaſſion on the inhabitants: by means of the town, we ſhall ſoon gain the caſtle.'

The knights again went to the townſmen, and received their ſubmiſſions. They all came out to the plain, and preſenting the keys of the town to the earl, ſaid, 'Dear ſir, from this day forward, we acknowledge ourſelves as your loyal ſubjects, and place ourſelves, in every reſpect, under the obedience of the king of England.'

They ſwore by their heads, that they would no, in any manner, aſſiſt or ſuccour thoſe in the caſtle, but, on the contrary, diſtreſs them all in their power.

The earl forbade, under pain of death, that any hurt ſhould be done towards the inhabitants of la Rèole. He then entered it with his army, and ſurrounding the caſtle, erected all his machines againſt it; but they did little miſchief, for the caſtle was very high, and built of a hard ſtone. It was erected a long time ſince by the Saracens, who laid the foundations ſo ſtrong, and with ſuch curious workmanſhip, that the buildings of our time cannot be compared to it. When the earl found that his machines had no effect, he commanded them to deſiſt; and, as he was not without miners in his army, he ordered them to undermine the ditches of the caſtle, ſo that they might paſs under. This was not, however, ſoon done.

CHAP.

CHAP. CIX.

SIR WALTER MANNY FINDS, IN LA REOLE, THE SEPULCHRE OF HIS FATHER.

WHILST they were laying before this caſtle, and miners only could be employed, ſir Walter Manny was reminded of his father, who formerly had been murdered in his journey from St. James of Compoſtella; and he had heard in his infancy, that he had been buried in la Rèole, or in that neighbourhood.

He therefore made inquiries in the town, if there were no one who could inform him of the truth of this matter, and offered a hundred crowns to whoever would conduct him to the ſpot.

This brought forward an old man, who ſaid to ſir Walter Manny, 'Certainly, ſir, I think I can lead you to the place where your father was buried, or very near to it.' Sir Walter replied, 'If you prove your words true, I will ſtick to my bargain, and even go beyond it.'

To explain this matter more clearly, you muſt know that there was formerly a biſhop of Cambray, a Gaſcon, and of the families of Buc and Mirepoix; and, during the time of his holding that ſee, a magnificent tournament was held at Cambray, where there were upwards of five hundred knights. A knight from Gaſcony tilted with the lord of Manny, the father of ſir Walter: the Gaſcon knight was ſo roughly handled and wounded, that he never enjoyed his health afterwards, but died.

His death was laid to the door of the lord of Manny, and the biſhop and his kindred vowed revenge for it.

Two or three years after, ſome good-hearted people endeavoured to reconcile them; and peace was agreed to, on condition, and by way of penance, that the lord of Manny made a pilgrimage to St. James of Compoſtella.

During the time of this journey, the earl Charles of Valois, brother to king Philip the Fair, was beſieging la Rèole, and had been there ſome time; for it appertained, as well as many other cities and towns, to the king of England, the father of him who beſieged Tournay; ſo that the lord of Manny on his return, went to viſit the earl Charles of Valois, as William earl of Hainault had married the lord Charles's daughter, and ſhewed him his letters; for, in theſe parts, he was as king of France.

It chanced, one night, as he was returning to his lodgings, he was watched and waylaid by the kindred of him on whoſe account he had performed this pilgrimage, and was murdered at a ſmall diſtance from the earl Charles's hôtel.

No one knew poſitively who had done this deed; but the relations of the Gaſcon knight above mentioned were very ſtrongly ſuſpected: however, they were ſo powerful, that it was paſſed over, and excuſed; for none took the part of the lord of Manny. The earl of Valois had him buried immediately in a ſmall chapel, which at that time was without the walls of la Rèole; and, when the earl of Valois had

had conquered the town, this chapel was incloſed in it. The old man remembered all theſe circumſtances perfectly well, for he had been preſent when the lord of Manny was interred.

When ſir Walter came to the ſpot, where his father had been formerly buried, with his aged conductor, he found there a ſmall tomb of marble, which his ſervants had erected over him; and the old man ſaid, 'You may be perfectly aſſured, that your father was buried and lies under this tomb.' Sir Walter then cauſed the inſcription, which was in Latin, to be read to him by a clerk, and found that the old man had told him the truth. Two days afterwards, he had the tomb opened, took out the bones of his father, and, placing them in a coffin, ſent them to Valenciennes, in the county of Hainault, where they were again buried in the church of the Freres Mineurs, near the choir. He ordered maſſes to be ſaid, and continued yearly.

CHAP. CX.

THE EARL OF DERBY CONQUERS THE CASTLE OF LA REOLE.

THE earl of Derby was more than eleven weeks beſieging the caſtle of la Rèole: the miners, however, made ſuch advances, that they had got under one of the courts of the caſtle; but they could not undermine the dungeon, for it was built on too hard a rock.

The lord Agos de Bans, the governor, then told his companions they were undermined, and in great danger, who were much alarmed at it, and ſaid, 'Sir, you will be in equal peril with ourſelves, if you cannot find ſome method of avoiding it. You are our captain, and we ought to obey you. In truth, we have defended ourſelves honorably, and no one can blame us if now we enter into a treaty. Will you, therefore, talk with the earl of Derby, and know if he will accept of our ſurrender, ſparing our lives and fortunes, ſeeing that we cannot at preſent act otherwiſe.'

Sir Agos went down from the great tower, and, putting his head out of a window, made ſigns that he wiſhed to ſpeak with ſome one from the army. A few of the Engliſh came near him, and aſked what he wanted: he replied, that he would ſpeak with the earl of Derby, or ſir Walter Manny. When this was told the earl, he ſaid to ſir Walter Manny, and to lord Stafford, 'Let us go to the fortreſs, and ſee what the governor has to ſay to us:' they rode, therefore, up to it. When ſir Agos perceived them, he ſaluted each very reſpectfully, and ſaid, 'Gentlemen, you know for fact, that the king of France has ſent me to this town and caſtle, to defend them to the beſt of my abilities. You know in what manner I have acquitted myſelf, and alſo that I ſhould wiſh to continue it on: but one cannot always remain in the place that pleaſes one beſt. I ſhould therefore like to depart from hence, with my companions, if it be agreeable to you; and

that

that we may have your permiſſion, if you will ſpare our lives and fortunes, we will ſurrender this caſtle up to you.' The earl replied, 'Sir Agos, ſir Agos, you will not get off ſo: we know that you are very much diſtreſſed, and that we can take you whenever we pleaſe; for your caſtle now only ſtands upon props: you muſt ſurrender yourſelves up unconditionally, and ſo ſhall you be received.' Sir Agos anſwering, ſaid, 'Certainly, ſir, if we ſhould do ſo, I hold you of ſuch honour and gallantry, that you will ſhew us every mark of favour, as you would wiſh the king of France ſhould do towards any of your knights; and, pleaſe God, you will never ſtain your honor and nobility for a few poor ſoldiers, that are within here, who have gained their money with great pain and trouble, and whom I brought with me from Provence, Savoy and Dauphiné: for know, that if the loweſt of our men be not treated with mercy, as well as the higheſt, we will ſell our lives in ſuch a manner, as none beſieged ever did before. I therefore intreat of you to liſten to me, and treat us like brother ſoldiers, that we may feel ourſelves obliged to you.'

The three knights withdrew to a little diſtance, and converſed a long time together: when, conſidering the gallantry of ſir Agos, that he was a foreigner, and beſides, that they could not undermine the dungeon, they returned, and ſaid to him, 'Sir Agos, we ſhall be happy always to treat every ſtranger knight as a brother at arms; and if, fair ſir, you and yours wiſh to leave the caſtle, you muſt

carry nothing with you but your arms and horſes,' 'Let it be ſo then,' replied ſir Agos.

Upon this he returned to his companions, and related what he had done: they immediately armed themſelves, and capariſoned their horſes, of which they had only ſix remaining. Some purchaſed horſes of the Engliſh, who made them pay dearly for them.

Thus ſir Agos de Bans gave up the caſtle of la Rèole, of which the Engliſh took poſſeſſion; and he went to the city of Toulouſe.

CHAP. CXI.

THE EARL OF DERBY TAKES CASTEL MORON,* AND AFTERWARDS VILLEFRANCHE,† IN PERIGORD.

WHEN the earl of Derby had gained poſſeſſion of the town and caſtle of la Rèole, where he had ſpent a long time, he puſhed forward, but left there an Engliſh knight, to ſee after the repairs, that it might be put in a ſimilar ſituation as when he had come before it.

The earl advanced towards Monpouillant,‡ which he inſtantly ordered to be attacked the moment he arrived. There were in the caſtle none but the peaſantry of the country, who had retired thither with

* A town of Bazadois, near la Rèole.

† A ſmall town, not far from Bergerac.

‡ A town of Bazadois.

their

their cattle, depending on the ſtrength of the place; they defended themſelves as long as they were able; but at laſt it was taken by eſcalade, though it coſt the earl dear, in the loſs of many archers, and a young Engliſh gentleman called ſir Richard Pennort*, who bore the banner of the lord Stafford.

The earl gave the command of the caſtle and its dependencies to a ſquire of his own, called Thomas Lancaſter, and left him with twenty archers.

The earl then came to Caſtel Moron, which he attacked; but, finding he could not make any impreſſion, he took up his quarters before it for that night. On the morrow morning, a knight from Gaſcony came to him, called ſir Alexander de Chaumont, and ſaid, 'Sir, pretend to decamp with your army, leaving only a ſmall detachment here before the town; and, from the knowledge I have of its inhabitants, I am ſure they will ſally forth to attack them. Your men will defend themſelves as they retreat, and by placing an ambuſcade under theſe olive trees, which as ſoon as they have paſſed, one party of your army may fall upon their rear, and the other make for the town.'

The earl followed this advice, and ordered the earl of Oxford to remain behind, with only one hundred men, giving him directions what he wiſhed to have done. He then ordered all the baggage to be packed up, and to march off, as if he were going to another place: after having poſted a ſtrong ambuſ-

* Penford, according to Barnes.

cade

cade in the valley among the olives and vines, he rode on.

When the townſmen of Caſtel Moron perceived that the earl and the greater part of his army were marching off, they ſaid among themſelves, 'Let us haſten to arm, and ſally forth to combat this handful of Engliſh that ſtay behind: we ſhall ſoon diſcomfit them, and have them at our mercy, which will bring us great honour and profit.' They all agreed to this propoſal; and, haſtening to arm themſelves, they ſallied out for the faſteſt, and might amount to about four hundred. As ſoon as the earl of Oxford and his party ſaw them coming, they began to retreat, and the French to follow them with great eagerneſs: they purſued them, until they had paſſed the ambuſh, when thoſe poſted there advanced upon them, calling out, 'Manny for ever!' for ſir Walter commanded this ambuſcade. One part of his detachment fell upon thoſe that had come from the town, and the other made for Caſtel Moron, where they came about midnight, and found the barriers and gates wide open; for the guards thought it was their own people returning. The firſt comers therefore ſeized the bridge, and were ſoon maſters of the town; for the inhabitants that had ſallied out, were ſurrounded on all ſides, and either ſlain or made priſoners.

Thoſe that had remained in the town ſurrendered themſelves to the earl of Derby, who received them kindly, and, out of his nobleneſs of diſpoſition, reſpited the town from being pillaged and burnt. He made a preſent of it, and all its dependencies, to

ſir

ſir Alexander de Chaumont, through whoſe advice he had gained it. Sir Alexander made his brother, who was a ſquire, called Antony de Chaumont, governor: and the earl of Derby left with him his archers, and forty infantry armed with bucklers, in order to enable him the better to guard the town.

The earl then came before Villefranche, which he took by ſtorm, as well as the caſtle. He made an Engliſh knight, ſir Thomas Cook, governor of it.

Thus did the earl of Derby march through every part of the country, without any one venturing out to prevent him. He conquered many different towns and caſtles; and his army gained ſo much riches, that it was marvellous to think on.

CHAP. CXII.

THE EARL OF DERBY CONQUERS THE CITY OF ANGOULEME.

WHEN the earl of Derby gained Villefranche, he advanced towards Miraumont*, approaching nearer to Bourdeaux; for, in all this expedition his light horſe, or ſcouts, had never come near to Port Sainte Marie†. He was three days before Miraumont; and, on the fourth, it ſurrendered.

* In the dioceſe of Agen.

† A town on the Garonne, near Aiguillon.

The

The earl gave the command of it to one of his ſquires, called John Briſcoe*: his army took afterwards a ſmall fortified town upon the Garonne, called Tonniens†, and the ſtrong caſtle of Damazan, which was well provided with men at arms, and archers. He then came to the city of Angoulême‡, which he cloſely beſieged, and declared he would not depart before it was in his poſſeſſion. The townſmen, hearing this, entered into a treaty, that their city ſhould remain unhurt for one month; and twenty-four of the principal inhabitants were ſent to Bourdeaux, as hoſtages: if, during this time the king ſhould ſend forces ſufficient to make head againſt the earl of Derby, the hoſtages ſhould be returned, and they be accounted free to take which ſide they pleaſed; but if otherwiſe, they would put themſelves under the obedience of the king of England.

The earl of Derby continued his march, and came before Blayes§, which he beſieged on all ſides. Two knights from Poitou were governors of it, named ſir Guiſcard de l'Angle‖, and ſir William de Roche-chouart, who declared they would never ſurrender to any man. Whilſt the Engliſh were beſieging Blayes, a detachment of them marched on to

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* Barnes calls him Briſtol, but I ſee no authority.

† In the Agenois, dioceſe of Agen.

‡ The capital of the Angoumois.

§ An ancient town upon the Garonne.

‖ See more of him, and ſir Frank van Halle, in the hiſtories of the order of the garter, and alſo of ſir Henry Eam.

Mortaigne

Mortaigne* in Poitou, which was under the command of the lord of Boucicault; and there was a ſharp engagement, which ended in nothing, except leaving behind many of their men dead and wounded. They returned, therefore, and came by Mirabeau and Aulnay to the ſiege before Blayes, where almoſt every day there was ſome gallant deed of arms performed.

The term of the month being expired, when the town of Angoulême was to ſurrender, the earl ſent his two marſhals thither, to whom they ſwore homage and fealty, in the name of the king of England: the city, by this means, enjoyed peace, and had their hoſtages returned to them; and the earl, at their requeſt, made ſir John Norwich† governor of it.

The ſiege of Blayes was ſtill continued, until the Engliſh began to be weary of it; for winter was approaching, and as yet they had gained no advantage. They held a council, to conſider if it would not be better to retire to Bourdeaux, and return in a more favourable ſeaſon. This was agreed to, and they decamped, paſſed the Garonne, and came to Bourdeaux. Soon afterwards, the earl divided his forces, and ſent detachments to different garriſons, to keep order, and ſpread more over the country.

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* Dioceſe of Rochelle.

† Summoned to Parliament the 16th and 34th Edward III.—See DUGDALE.

CHAP. CXIII.

SIR GODFREY DE HARCOURT BANISHED FROM FRANCE.

ABOUT this period, ſir Godfrey de Harcourt incurred the anger of the king of France. He was a great baron in Normandy, brother to the earl of Harcourt, and lord of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, and of many other towns in Normandy. This was occaſioned through jealouſy; for a little before he was ſo much in favour with the king and duke, that he could do as he liked with either*.

He was publicly baniſhed from France; and, if the king's rage had not ſubſided, he would have been ſerved as ſir Olivier de Cliſſon and the other knights who had been beheaded the preceding year in Paris. Sir Godfrey, however, had ſome good friends, who gave him information privately, how much the king was incenſed againſt him. He quitted the kingdom as ſpeedily as poſſible, and

* Sir Godfrey de Harcourt's diſgrace was cauſed by a quarrel he had with the maréchal de Briquebec, on account of a marriage being broken. They fought. The king ordered the affair to be diſcuſſed in his parliament; but Harcourt, inſtead of appearing, beſieged a caſtle belonging to the biſhop of Bayeux, brother to the marſhal, entered into negociations with the enemies of his country, and by his hatred to his king, gained the favour of Edward.

Grands Chroniques de St. Denis, a beautiful copy on vellum in the Hafod Library. They had formed part of the celebrated library of Diane de Poitiers, at Anet.

went

went to Brabant where the duke John, his couſin, received him moſt joyfully.

He remained there a conſiderable time, and ſpent what revenue he had in Brabant; for in France he had nothing, as the king had ſeized all his eſtates in Coutantin, and received the rents for his own uſe. The knight could never regain the love of the king of France, notwithſtanding all the earneſt intreaties of the duke of Brabant.

This hatred coſt dear to France, eſpecially to the province of Normandy; for the traces of it appeared a hundred years afterwards, as you will find by the following hiſtory*.

CHAP. CXIV.

JACOB VON ARTAVELD IS MURDERED AT GHENT.

JACOB von Artaveld, the citizen of Ghent that was ſo much attached to the king of England, ſtill maintained the ſame deſpotic power over all Flanders. He had promiſed the king of England, that he would give him the inheritance of Flanders, inveſt his ſon, the prince of Wales, with it, and make it a duchy, inſtead of an earldom. Upon which account, the king was, at this period, about St. John the Baptiſt's day 1345, come to Sluys, with a numerous attendance of barons and knights.

* Godfrey de Harcourt did homage to king Edward, as king of France, the 13th June, 1345; when Edward engaged, if he could not recover for him his eſtates in Normandy, to give him their equivalent in England.—RYMER.

He

He had brought the prince of Wales with him, in order that Jacob von Artaveld's promiſes might be realiſed.

The king remained on board his fleet in the harbour of Sluys, where he kept his court. His friends in Flanders came thither to ſee and viſit him: and there were many conferences between the king and Jacob von Artaveld on one ſide, and the councils from the different capital towns on the other, relative to the agreement before mentioned; as to which, thoſe from the country did not unite in ſentiment with the king nor with von Artaveld, who kept continually reminding them of their quarrel, and exhorting them to diſinherit earl Lewis, their natural lord, and his young ſon Lewis, in favour of the ſon of the king of England: but they declared they never would conſent to ſuch a thing. At the laſt conference, which was held in the harbour of Sluys, on board the king's ſhip, the Catherine (which was of ſuch an enormous ſize that wonders might be told of it), they made this unanimous reply: 'Dear ſir, the requeſt you have made has given us much uneaſineſs, and may in times to come be prejudicial to Flanders and our ſucceſſors. True it is, that there is not in the world any prince whom we love ſo much, or for whoſe profit and advantage we would exert ourſelves ſo greatly, as for you: but we alone cannot agree to this propoſition, unleſs all the commonalties of Flanders give their conſent. Therefore each of us will return to our different towns, and will explain, in a general way, this buſineſs to the inhabitants: when, if the

greater

greater part of them ſhall conſent, we alſo will agree to it: we will return to you again within a month, and bring ſuch anſwers as we hope will be ſatisfactory.'

Neither the king of England nor Jacob von Artaveld could at that time obtain more, or any other anſwer. They wiſhed to have had a ſhorter day appointed, but in vain: ſo the king anſwered, he was ſatisfied that it ſhould be as they determined.

The conference broke up, and each returned to the town from whence he had been deputed.

Jacob von Artaveld remained ſome little time longer with the king of England, in order to be made acquainted with all his affairs: he, in return, promiſed and aſſured him that he would bring his countrymen over to his opinion; but he deceived himſelf, and did wrong in ſtaying behind, and not being at Ghent at the time when the citizens who had been deputed by the corporations of the town arrived there: for as ſoon as they were returned, taking advantage of the abſence of von Artaveld, they collected a large meeting of high and low, in the market-place, and there explained to them the ſubject of the late conferences at Sluys, and what the king of England had required of them, through the advice and information of Jacob von Artaveld. The whole aſſembly began to murmur againſt him; and this requeſt was received unfavourably by all. They ſaid, 'that if it pleaſed God, they never would be pointed out, or found ſo diſloyal, as to diſinherit their natural lord, in favour of a ſtranger.'

They then left the market-place, much diſcontented, and angry with Artaveld. Now, ſee how unfortunately it fell out; for if he had gone to Ghent, inſtead of Bruges and Ypres, and had remonſtrated with them upon the quarrel of the king of England, they would all have conſented to his wiſhes, as thoſe of the two above-mentioned towns had done: but he truſted ſo much to his proſperity and greatneſs, that he thought he could recover every thing back in a little time.

When on his return, he came to Ghent about mid-day, the townſmen, who were informed of the hour he was expected, had aſſembled in the ſtreet that he was to paſs through: as ſoon as they ſaw him, they began to murmur, and put their heads cloſe together, ſaying, 'Here comes one who is too much the maſter, and wants to order in Flanders according to his will and pleaſure, which muſt not be longer borne.' With this they had alſo ſpread a rumour through the town, that Jacob von Artaveld had collected all the revenues of Flanders, for nine years and more; that he had uſurped the government without rendering an account, for he did not allow any of the rents to paſs to the earl of Flanders, but kept them ſecurely to maintain his own ſtate, and had, during the time above-mentioned, received all fines and forfeitures: of this great treaſure, he had ſent part into England. This information inflamed thoſe of Ghent with rage; and, as he was riding up the ſtreets, he perceived that there was ſomething in agitation agai ſt l ; for thoſe who were wont to ſalute him very

fully now turned their backs, and went into their houſes. He began therefore to ſuſpect all was not as uſual; and as ſoon as he had diſmounted, and entered his hôtel, he ordered the doors and windows to be ſhut and faſtened.

Scarcely had his ſervants done this, when the ſtreet which he inhabited was filled from one end to the other with all ſorts of people, but eſpecially by the loweſt of the mechanics. His manſion was ſurrounded on every ſide, attacked and broken into by force. Thoſe within did all they could to defend it, and killed and wounded many: but at laſt they could not hold out againſt ſuch vigorous attacks, for three parts of the town were there.

When Jacob von Artaveld ſaw what efforts were making, and how hardly he was puſhed, he came to a window, and, with his head uncovered, began to uſe humble and fine language, ſaying, 'My good people, what aileth you? Why are you ſo enraged againſt me? by what means can I have incurred your diſpleaſure? Tell me, and I will conform myſelf entirely to your wills.' Thoſe who had heard him made anſwer, as with one voice, 'We want to have an account of the great treaſures you have made away with, without any title of reaſon.' Artaveld replied in a ſoft tone, 'Gentlemen, be aſſured that I have never taken any thing from the treaſures of Flanders; and, if you will return quietly to your homes, and come here to-morrow morning, I will be provided to give ſo good an account of them, that you muſt reaſonably be ſatisfied.' But they cried out, 'No, no, we muſt have it directly.

you ſhall not thus eſcape from us'; for we know that you have emptied the treaſury, and ſent it into England, without our knowledge: you therefore ſhall ſuffer death.' When he heard this, he claſped his hands together, began to weep bitterly, and ſaid, 'Gentlemen, ſuch as I am, you yourſelves have made me: you formerly ſwore, you would protect me againſt all the world; and now, without any reaſon, you want to murder me. You are certainly maſters to do it, if you pleaſe; for I am but one man againt you all. Think better of it, for the love of God: recollect former times, and conſider how many favours and kindneſſes I have conferred upon you. You wiſh to give me a ſorry recompenſe for all the generous deeds you have experienced at my hands. You are not ignorant, that, when commerce was dead in this country, it was I who reſtored it. I afterwards governed you in ſo peaceable a manner, that under my adminiſtration you had all things according to your wiſhes; corn, oats, riches, and all ſorts of merchandize which have made you ſo wealthy.'

They began to bawl out, 'Come down, and do not preach to us from ſuch a height; for we will have an account and ſtatement of the great treaſures of Flanders, which you have governed too long without rendering any account; and it is not proper for an officer to receive the rents of a lord, or of a country, without accounting for them.'

When Jacob von Artaveld ſaw that he could not appeaſe or calm them, he ſhut the window, and intended getting out of his houſe the back

take ſhelter in a church adjoining; but his hôtel was already broke into on that ſide, and upwards of four hundred were there calling out for him. At laſt he was ſeized by them, and ſlain without mercy: his death-ſtroke was given him by a ſadler, called Thomas Denys. In this manner did Jacob von Artaveld end his days, who in his time had been complete maſter of Flanders. Poor men firſt raiſed him, and wicked men ſlew him.

News of this event was ſoon ſpread abroad: ſome pitied him, whilſt others rejoiced at it.

The earl Lewis had remained all this time in Dendremonde, and with much pleaſure heard of Jacob von Artaveld's death, as he had very much oppoſed him in all his undertakings: nevertheleſs he durſt not yet place confidence in thoſe of Flanders, nor return to Ghent.

When the king of England, who was waiting at Sluys for the return of the deputies, was informed in what manner the inhabitants of Ghent had ſlain his faithful friend and companion Artaveld, he was in a mighty paſſion, and ſore diſpleaſed. He immediately departed, put to ſea, and vowed vengeance againſt the Flemings and all Flanders, declaring that his death ſhould be dearly paid for by them.

The councils of the principal towns gueſſed that the king of England would be much enraged againſt them; they therefore conſidered that their beſt method to ſoften his anger, would be to go and excuſe themſelves from the murder of Jacob von Artaveld,

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eſpecially thoſe of Bruges, Ypres, Courtray, Oudenarde, and the franc of Bruges.

They ſent to the king and his council for a ſafe conduct, that they might come over to make their excuſes; and the king, whoſe anger was ſomewhat cooled, granted it to them.

The principal perſons of all the chief towns in Flanders, except thoſe of Ghent, came into England about Michaelmas. The king was at that time in Weſtminſter, near London. They made very fair excuſes, and ſwore moſt ſolemnly that 'they were guiltleſs of the murder of von Artaveld, which had they ſuſpected, they would have guarded and defended him: that they were exceedingly vexed at his loſs, and regretted it moſt ſincerely; for they knew how kind he had been to them, how uſeful he was in all their affairs, and that he had reigned and governed Flanders moſt wiſely: that ſince thoſe of Ghent had ſlain him, they ſhould make ample amends for it.' They alſo explained to the king and his council, 'that though Jacob von Artaveld was dead, he was not the leſs beloved, or leſs in the good graces of the Flemings, ſave and except in the inveſtiture of Flanders, which he wiſhed to be taken from the earl, their natural lord, however he may be attached to the French intereſt, and from his ſon, their lawful heir, to give it to the prince of Wales; for the Flemings would not, on any account, liſten to it. But, dear ſir, you have a fine family of ſons and daughters: the prince of Wales, your eldeſt ſon, cannot fail being a great prince

with an ample inheritance, without deſiring that of Flanders: and you have alſo a young daughter; we have too a young lord, whom we are bringing up and taking care of, that will be lord of Flanders: it perhaps may be, that a marriage could be brought about between them, ſo that the county of Flanders will in the end be poſſeſſed by one of your children.'

Theſe ſpeeches ſoftened very much the anger and ill will of the king of England; and, in the end, both he and the Flemings were equally ſatisfied with each other. Thus, by degrees, was the death of Jacob von Artaveld forgotten.

CHAP. CXV.

WILLIAM EARL OF HAINAULT IS SLAIN IN FRIEZLAND, AND MANY NOBLEMEN WITH HIM.

AT this time and ſeaſon, William earl of Hainault was laying ſiege to the town of Utrecht, and had been there for a long time, in order to recover ſome rights which he claimed as belonging to him. He preſſed the ſiege ſo cloſely by his vigorous aſſaults, that he brought it back to its duty, and obtained every thing he wiſhed for.

Soon afterwards, in the ſame year, about the feaſt of St. Remy (1ſt of October), the earl collected a large body of men at arms, knights, and ſquires from Hainault, Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Gueldres and Juliers; and, embarking them on board a conſiderable fleet at Dordrecht, made ſail for Friez-

land; for the earl conſidered himſelf as lord thereof. If the Friezlanders had been people to liſten to the legality and reaſonableneſs of the claim, the earl was entitled to it: but, as they were obſtinate he exerted himſelf to obtain it by force, and was ſlain, as well as a great many other knights and ſquires. God have mercy on their ſouls!

Sir John of Hainault did not accompany his nephew, but went to another part. On hearing of his nephew's death, he wanted to combat the Friezlanders like one out of his ſenſes: when his ſervants found the ſtate he was in, they took him and carried him on board a veſſel, whether he would or no. Sir Robert de Glewes, who was his body ſquire, was moſt active in ſaving him. They returned in ſmall numbers, and in diſorder, to Gertruydenberg in Holland, where the lady Jane his niece, the wife of the above-mentioned earl, was waiting for him. She was the eldeſt daughter of the duke of Brabant, and from that moment withdrew to the territory of Binch*, which was her dower.

The county of Hainault remained vacant ſome time, and was governed by ſir John of Hainault, until the lady Margaret, mother to earl Albert, came thither, and took poſſeſſion of the heritage; to whom all the lords did homage and fealty.

This lady Margaret, counteſs of Hainault, was married to the lord Lewis of Bavaria, emperor of Rome, and king of Germany.

* Binch, near Mons, in Hainault.

CHAP. CXVI.

SIR JOHN OF HAINAULT QUITS THE ALLIANCE OF ENGLAND FOR THAT OF FRANCE.

SOON after this, king Philip of France endeavoured by a treaty, through the means of the earl of Blois, to perſuade ſir John of Hainault to take part with France. He promiſed to allow him the ſame ſubſidy which he received from England, and would aſſign it upon whatever lands his council might think beſt. But ſir John was not willing to comply; for he had ſpent the flower of his youth in fighting for England, and king Edward had always much loved and eſteemed him.

When the earl of Blois, who had married his daughter, and had three ſons by her, Lewis, John and Guy, found that he could not ſucceed in this buſineſs himſelf, he endeavoured, by means of the lord of Faguinelles, who was the chief friend and adviſer of ſir John, to gain his point. In order to make him alter his opinion of the Engliſh, they made him believe that they would not pay him his ſubſidy for a conſiderable time. This put ſir John ſo much out of humour, that he renounced all treaties and agreements which he had entered into with England. The king of France was no ſooner informed of it, than he ſent to him perſons ſufficiently authoriſed, who retained him, as well as his council, for France, at a certain ſalary; and he recompenſed him in his kingdom with a greater revenue than he derived from England.

CHAP.

CHAP. CXVII.

THE DUKE OF NORMANDY MARCHES WITH A GREAT ARMY INTO GASCONY, AGAINST THE EARL OF DERBY.

THE king of France, having received information of the expeditions and conqueſts that the earl of Derby had made in Gaſcony, iſſued a ſpecial ſummons for all nobles, and others, that were capable of bearing arms, to aſſemble in the cities of Orleans and Bourges, and in that neighbourhood, by a certain day.

In obedience to this ſummons, there came to Paris, Eudes duke of Burgundy, and his ſon the earl of Artois and Boulogne: they preſented themſelves before the king with a thouſand lances.

Next came the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Ponthieu his brother; then the earl of Eu Guignes, conſtable of France, each attended by a numerous body of men at arms.

The earl of Tancarville, the dauphine of Auvergne, the earls of Forêts, Dammartin, Vendôme; the lords of Coucy, of Craon, of Sully, of Freſnes, of Beaujeu, of Roye, the biſhop of Beauvais, the lord John of Châlons, and many others aſſembled at Orleans; and all thoſe from the weſt ſide of the Loire: thoſe from the eaſtern ſide and beyond Poitou, Saintonge, la Rochelle, Quercy, Limouſin, Auvergne, aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Touloufe. Theſe all advanced towards Rouergue, where they found

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great multitudes collected in the city of Rhodez, and on the borders of Auvergne and Provence.

At laſt theſe lords were all aſſembled, with their men, in and near Touloufe, for they were too great in numbers to be lodged in the city: they amounted, in the whole, to upwards of a hundred thouſand perſons. This was the year of grace 1345.

Soon after the feaſt of Chriſtmas, the duke of Normandy, who was the commander in chief of this army, ſet out to join it, and ordered his marſhals, the lord of Montmorency and the lord of St. Venant, to advance with the van.

They came firſt to the caſtle of Miraumont, which the Engliſh had conquered in the ſummer, and moſt vigorouſly aſſaulted it. There were within it about a hundred Engliſhmen for its defence, under the command of John Briſcoe.

With the French were the lord Lewis of Spain, and a number of Genoeſe croſs-bowmen, that ſpared none: thoſe within could not defend themſelves againſt ſo ſuperior a force, but were taken, and the greater part of them ſlain, even their captain.

The marſhals, having recruited their battalion with freſh men, advanced further, and came before Villefranche, in the county of Agenois. The army halted there, and ſurrounded it on all ſides. Sir Thomas Cook, the governor, was not there, but at Bourdeaux, whither the earl of Derby had ſent for him. However thoſe within made a vigorous defence: but, in the end, they were taken by ſtorm, and the greater part of the garriſon put to the ſword.

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The army then marched towards the city of Angoulême, leaving the town and caſtle of Villefranche ſtanding undemoliſhed, and without any guard.

The city of Angoulême was cloſely beſieged; and the governor of it for the king of England was ſir John Norwich.

The earl of Derby, who was at Bourdeaux, heard of the arrival of this great army from France, and that they had already recaptured Miraumont, and Villefranche, which they had plundered and burnt, except the citadel. Having ſent for four of his knights, in whom he placed much confidence, he ordered them to take ſixty men at arms and three hundred archers, and ſet out for Villefranche to gain poſſeſſion of the caſtle, which was empty, and put it, as well as the gates of the town, into good repair: if the French ſhould come to attack them, to make a good defence, for he ſhould haſten to their aſſiſtance, let it coſt what it would. Theſe knights did according to their orders, and their names were ſir Stephen Tombey, ſir Richard Heydon, ſir Ralph Haſtings, and ſir Normant de Finefroide.

The earl then requeſted the earl of Pembróke, ſir Walter Manny, ſir Frank van Halle, ſir Thomas Cook, ſir John Touchet, ſir Richard de Beauvais,* ſir Philip Radcliff, ſir Robert Neville, ſir Thomas Biſſet, and many other knights and ſquires, that they would immediately ſet off to defend Aiguillon,

* Bayeux.—BARNES.

for he ſhould be very much diſpleaſed if he loſt that town.

They departed, in number about forty knights and ſquires, and three hundred men at arms and archers. They got into the caſtle of Aiguillon, where they found about ſix ſcore brother ſoldiers, whom the earl of Derby had left there. They laid in a ſufficient ſtock of meal, and all other ſorts of proviſion.

As the four firſt mentioned knights were on their road to Villefranche, they collected a quantity of cattle, ſheep, corn, and all other proviſion, which they drove before them to Villefranche. They entered the caſtle, and repaired its walls, as well as thoſe of the town, and were upwards of fifteen hundred fighting men, well ſupplied with proviſion for ſix months.

The duke of Normandy was a long time before Angoulême; and, when he found that he made no impreſſion by his aſſaults, ſo well was it defended, but loſt many of his people every day, he ordered them to ceaſe from their attacks, and to take up their quarters nearer the city. One day during this ſiege, the ſeneſchal of Beaucaire came to the duke, and ſaid, 'Sir, I am very well acquainted with all this country; and, if you will let me have ſix hundred men at arms, I will make an excurſion, in ſearch of cattle and proviſion; for very ſhortly, if we remain here, we ſhall be in need of both.' This was very agreeable to the duke and his council; and on the morrow morning, the ſeneſchal took thoſe knights and ſquires who were deſirous of advancement.

vancement. Among thoſe who placed themſelves under his command were the duke of Bourbon, his brother the earl of Ponthieu, the earls of Tancarville, Forêts, the dauphine of Auvergne, the lords of Pons, of Partenay, of Coucy, of Daubigny, of Auſſemont, of Beaujeu, ſir Guiſcard d'Angle, the lord of Saintré, and many others, to the amount of nine hundred lances.

Towards the evening they mounted their horſes, and riding all night, came about the dawn before a large town called Athenis,* which had but lately ſurrendered to the Engliſh. A ſpy came to the ſeneſchal, and informed him that in the town there were ſix ſcore men at arms, Gaſcons and Engliſh, and three hundred archers, who would defend themſelves well, if they were attacked: 'but,' added the ſpy, 'I have obſerved that their cattle are without the town; and in a meadow underneath it are two hundred large beaſts feeding.' The ſeneſchal then addreſſed himſelf to his companions, and ſaid, 'Gentlemen, I think it moſt adviſable that you ſhould remain in this valley: I will go, with ſixty men to collect the booty, which I will drive this way; and I am miſtaken, if the Engliſh do not ſally out, thinking to reſcue them, which will throw them into your power.' This was executed; and the ſeneſchal, accompanied by ſixty companions well mounted,

* Mr. Barnes makes it *Ancenis*; but that is too far off; and he quotes *du Cheſne*, page 663. In my opinion, it muſt be *St. Jean d'Angely*, as that is in Saintonge, and not too far diſtant for the excurſion.

rode through bye roads round the town, until he came to the fine meads, where the cattle were paſturing.

He then ſeparated his companions, for them to collect the beaſts together, and drive them under the walls of the town by a different road.

The watch on the walls and on the caſtle, ſeeing this, began to make a great noiſe and to ſound the alarm to awaken their fellow-ſoldiers and the townſmen;- for, as it was very early, many were aſleep: they immediately began to ſtir, and, ſaddling their horſes, aſſembled in the market-place.

They came there as well armed as they could, and left none in the town but ſervants. The Engliſh were very eager in the purſuit, to recover their cattle, crying out to the French, 'You muſt not think to get off ſo.' The ſeneſchal haſtened the more, ſo that the Engliſh fell into the ambuſcade, which attacked them; and, through the diſorder they were in by their too great eagerneſs, in the ſpace of an hour they were all overcome. Their captain, ſir Stephen Lacy, was made priſoner, as well as thoſe who, through a point of honour, were around him: the reſt were ſlain.

The French then made for the town, which they entered by ſtorm; for there were none to defend it. The firſt battalion which entered was that of the duke of Bourbon. Theſe lords took poſſeſſion of it; and, having placed a new garriſon and governor, they ſet out with all their booty and priſoners, and returned the next day to the army before Angoulême.

Notwith-

Notwithſtanding there were many greater lords in this expedition than the ſeneſchal of Beaucaire, he had all the honour and glory of it.

CHAP. CXVIII.

SIR JOHN NORWICH ESCAPES FROM ANGOULEME, WHEN THAT TOWN SURRENDERS TO THE FRENCH.

THE lords of France remained for a very conſiderable time before Angoulême. The French overran all the country which had been conquered by the Engliſh: they created much trouble, and, whenever they found a fit opportunity, brought to their camp many priſoners and much pillage: the two brothers of Bourbon acquired great praiſe from all, as they were the foremoſt in every excurſion.

When ſir John Norwich, the governor of Angoulême, found that the duke of Normandy would not break up the ſiege until he had gained the city; that his proviſions were growing ſhort, and that the earl of Derby ſhewed no ſigns of coming to his relief: having alſo perceived that the inhabitants were much inclined to the French, and would have turned to them before, if they had dared: he began to be ſuſpicious of treaſon, and bethought how he could beſt ſave himſelf and his companions.

On the eve of the Purification, he came on the battlements of the walls of the city alone, without

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having mentioned to any one his intentions, and made ſigns with his cap that he wanted to ſpeak with ſome one from the army. Thoſe who had noticed the ſignal came to know what he wanted: he ſaid, 'he wiſhed to ſpeak with my lord the duke of Normandy, or with one of his marſhals.' They went to inform the duke of this, who came there, attended by ſome of his knights. As ſoon as ſir John ſaw the duke, he pulled off his cap, and ſaluted him. The duke returned the ſalute, and ſaid, 'Sir John, how fares it with you? Are you inclined to ſurrender yourſelf?' 'I have no intentions to do that,' replied ſir John; 'but I could wiſh to entreat of you, in reverence to the feaſt of our Lady, which is tomorrow, that you would grant us a truce for that day only, that neither of us may hurt the other, but remain in peace.'

The duke ſaid, 'he was willing to conſent to it.'

Early the next morning, which was Candlemas day, ſir John and his companions armed themſelves, and packed up all they had. They then ordered one of the gates to be opened, and iſſued forth; which being perceived by the army, ſome part of it began to put itſelf in motion: ſir John, upon this, rode up to them, and ſaid, 'Gentlemen, gentlemen, beware that you do no harm to us; for we have had a truce agreed on for this whole day, as you muſt know, by the duke of Normandy; and we ſhall not touch you. If you have not been informed of it, go and inquire; for we can, upon the faith of this truce, ride and go wherever we pleaſe.' This information was brought to the duke, and he

was aſked what was to be done, who replied, 'Let them go, in God's name, whatever way they chooſe; for we cannot force them to ſtay. I will keep the promiſe I made them.'

Thus ſir John Norwich paſſed through the whole French army unhurt, and took the road to Aiguillon. When thoſe who were in garriſon there heard in what manner he had eſcaped and ſaved his men, they ſaid he had acted very cunningly.

The inhabitants of Angoulême held a council on Candlemas day, and determined to ſurrender themſelves to the duke: they ſent perſons properly authoriſed to treat, who managed ſo well, that the duke ſhewed them mercy, and pardoned them. He entered the city and caſtle, where he received their homage, and appointed ſir Anthony de Villiers governor, with a hundred ſoldiers to defend it.

The duke afterwards decamped, and came before the caſtle of Damazan,* which he laid ſiege to for fourteen days. There were continued aſſaults; but at laſt it was taken, and all within it, Gaſcons and Engliſh, put to the ſword.

The duke gave this caſtle and its dependencies to a ſquire, from Beauſſe, named the Borgne de Nully. He then came before Tonniens,† which is ſituated on the Garonne, and which he found well provided with Gaſcons and Engliſh. There were many attacks and ſkirmiſhes; and he remained ſome

* A town in Gaſcony, in the election of Condom.

† Dioceſe of Agen.

time

time before it. However, at laſt they ſurrendered, upon condition of preſerving their lives and fortunes, and to be conducted in ſafety to Bourdeaux. When theſe foreigners had left it, the town entered under obedience to the duke, who ſtaid here with his whole army, and on the banks of the Garonne, until after Eaſter, when he advanced towards port St. Marie upon the ſame river.

There were about two hundred Engliſh to defend the town and this paſſage, who had ſtrongly fortified it; but they, and all within, were taken by aſſault. The French, after they had repaired and reinforced it with men at arms, ſet out and took the road towards Aiguillon.

CHAP. CXIX.

THE DUKE OF NORMANDY LAYS SIEGE TO AIGUILLON, WITH A HUNDRED THOUSAND MEN.

THE noblemen of France, under the command of the duke of Normandy, puſhed on until they came before the caſtle of Aiguillon, when they encamped and divided their forces in the extenſive and handſome meadows on the banks of the river Garonne, which is navigable for great veſſels. Each lord was poſted with his own people, and every company by itſelf, according to the orders of the marſhals of the army.

This ſiege continued until the beginning of October; and there were upwards of one hundred thou-

ſand men in arms, including cavalry and infantry. Thoſe within were obliged to defend themſelves againſt this army two or three times every day, and moſt commonly from noon until eve without ceaſing; for there were continually pouring upon them freſh forces, Genoeſe or others, who gave them no repoſe.

The chiefs of the French army found they could never attack, with advantage, the fortreſs, unleſs they paſſed the river, which was wide and deep: the duke, therefore, ordered a bridge to be conſtructed, that they might croſs it: three hundred workmen were employed at this bridge, who worked day and night. As ſoon as the knights who were in Aiguillon perceived that this bridge was nearly finiſhed, and that one half of it was completed, they prepared three veſſels, in which they embarked, and, driving away the workmen and guards, inſtantly deſtroyed what had taken ſo much time to make.

The lords of France, ſeeing this, got ready other veſſels to attack them, in which they placed a number of men at arms, Genoeſe croſs-bowmen and infantry, and ordered the workmen to continue their works, under the ſupport of theſe guards.

When theſe workmen were thus employed, ſir Walter Manny, and ſome of his companions, embarked about noon, and, daſhing upon them, made them quit their work and run off: he ſoon deſtroyed all that they had done. This kind of ſkirmiſh was continued daily; but at laſt the French ſent ſuch large detachments to guard the workmen, that

that the bridge was completed in a good and ſtrong manner.

The army then paſſed over it in order of battle, and attacked the caſtle for the ſpace of one whole day, but did no great harm; and, in the evening, they retreated to their camp, where they were plentifully ſupplied with every thing.

Thoſe within the caſtle repaired what damage had been done, for they had plenty of workmen. On the morrow, the French reſolved to divide their army into four diviſions; the firſt of which ſhould make an attack on this fortreſs from the dawn until about nine o'clock; the ſecond, from that time till noon; the third, from noon till four o'clock; and the fourth diviſion from that time till night. This mode of attack was continued for ſix ſucceſſive days. However, thoſe within the caſtle were never ſo much haraſſed but that they could defend themſelves valiantly; and their enemies gained nothing but the bridge, which was before the caſtle.

The French lords, upon this, held a council, and ſent to Toulouſe for eight of their largeſt battering engines, and conſtructed four other large ones upon the ſpot. Theſe twelve engines caſt ſtones into the fortreſs day and night; but the beſieged had taken ſuch pains to avoid what miſchief they could do, that they only deſtroyed the roofs of the houſes: they had alſo made counter-engines, which played upon thoſe of their enemies, and in a ſhort ſpace of time totally ruined ſix of them.

During this ſiege, ſir Walter Manny made frequent excurſions beyond the river, with about ſix

ſcore companions, to forage, and often returned with his booty in ſight of the army.

One day the lord Charles of Montmorency had been on a foraging party, with five or ſix hundred men, and was conducting a great number of cattle to victual the army, when he met ſir Walter Manny under the walls of Aiguillon. They immediately began an engagement, which was very ſharp; and many were killed and wounded on both ſides. The French were at leaſt five to one. News was brought of this into Aiguillon, when every one ſallied out for the faſteſt, and the earl of Pembroke with the foremoſt: they daſhed into the midſt of them, and found ſir Walter Manny unhorſed, and ſurrounded by his enemies, but fighting moſt valiantly. He was directly reſcued and re-mounted. During the heat of the engagement, the French haſtened to drive off the cattle to a place of ſafety, or they would have loſt them; for the Engliſh were coming in crowds to ſuccour their countrymen, and, falling upon the French vigorouſly, they put them to flight, reſcued thoſe they had made priſoners, and captured alſo many from them. The lord Charles de Montmorency had great difficulty to eſcape, and retreated as faſt as he could, quite diſcomfited. When it was over, the Engliſh returned to Aiguillon.

Such ſkirmiſhes frequently happened, for ſcarcely a day paſſed without ſome engagement.

The French having one day drawn out their army, ordered thoſe noblemen that were from Toulouſe, Carcaſſonne, and Beaucaire, and their dependencies,

pendencies, to make an attack with their men, from the morning until noon; and thoſe from Rouergue, Cahors, and Agenois, to continue it from their retreat until the evening. The duke promiſed to any of his ſoldiers who ſhould gain the draw-bridge of the caſtle a reward of a hundred golden crowns.* The duke, in order to aſſiſt this attack, commanded a number of veſſels and barges to come down the river, in which many embarked to croſs it, whilſt the remainder paſſed over the bridge. Thoſe in the caſtle made a gallant defence; but at laſt, ſome of the French got into a ſmall boat, and, paſſing under the bridge, faſtened ſtrong hooks and chains to the draw-bridge, with which they pulled ſo luſtily, that they broke the iron chains which held the bridge, and forced it down.

The French, ſo eager were they to gain the promiſed reward, leaped upon the bridge in ſuch haſte, that they tumbled over each other. The beſieged flung down upon them ſtones, hot lime, large beams, and boiling water, ſo that many were hurt, and drowned in the ditches. The bridge, however, was taken, though it coſt them more than it was worth: but they could not gain the gate: therefore, as it was late, they returned to their camp, for they had need of reſt; and thoſe within the caſtle ſallied out, and repaired the bridge, making it ſtronger than it was before.

On the next day, two principal engineers came to the duke, and ſaid, If he would find them wood

* 6s. 8d. each.—BARNES.

and workmen, they would build for him two ſuch high towers, as, when they were advanced to the walls of the caſtle, ſhould overtop them. The duke commanded all the carpenters of the country to be ſent for, and handſomely paid. Theſe four towers were conſtructed, and placed on the decks of four large veſſels; but they took a long time in making, and coſt much money. Thoſe ordered upon this attack embarked on board the veſſels, and, when they were about half way over the river, the beſieged let off four martinets,* which they had newly conſtructed, to defend themſelves againſt theſe towers. Theſe four martinets caſt ſuch large ſtones, and ſo very rapidly, that the men at arms in the towers were much hurt by them: and, having no means to ſhield themſelves, they returned back as faſt as they were able: but in their retreat one of the veſſels foundered and ſunk; the greater number of thoſe that were on board were drowned, which was a great pity, as they were chiefly valiant knights who were eager to diſtinguiſh themſelves.

When the duke found that this ſcheme did not anſwer his expectations, he ordered them to diſembark from the three remaining veſſels. He was at a loſs what plan to follow, by which he could gain the caſtle of Aiguillon; for he had vowed he would never quit the place until he was maſter of it and the garriſon, unleſs the king, his father, ordered

* Du Cange, ſupplement, under the word *Martinetus*, calls it an inſtrument of war, and quotes this paſſage for his authority, but does not explain it further.

otherwiſe. The lords therefore adviſed him to ſend the conſtable of France and the earl of Tancarville to Paris, to inform king Philip of the ſtate of the ſiege, and to know if the king wiſhed the duke of Normandy to continue before Aiguillon, until he had, through famine, made himſelf maſter of it, ſince he could not gain it by force.

The king of England, having heard how much preſſed his people were in the caſtle of Aiguillon, determined to lead a great army into Gaſcony. He ſet about making his preparations, ſummoned all the vaſſals in his kingdom, and collected forces from whatever quarter he could, that were willing to enter into his pay.

About this time ſir Godfrey de Harcourt, who had been baniſhed from France, arrived in England. He was received by the king in his palace; and he aſſigned over to him a handſome eſtate in England, to maintain him, ſuitable to his rank. Soon after this, the king aſſembled a large fleet of ſhips at Southampton, and ſent thither his men at arms and his archers*.

About St. John the Baptiſt's day 1346, the king took leave of the queen, and, ſetting out, left her to the care of his couſin, the earl of Kent. He

* Edward appoints his ſon, Lionel, lieutenant of the realm, during his abſence, by an ordinance dated Porcheſter, 5th June 1346.—RYMER.

He was at Porcheſter the 1ſt and 2d of July 1346.—RYMER.

John de Offord, chancellor, delivered up the great ſeal to John de Thoreſby, the 2d July, in the Iſle of Wight.

appointed

appointed the lord Percy, and the lord Neville of Raby, the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Durham, and the biſhop of Lincoln, to be his lieutenants for the northern parts of his kingdom; and he did not take ſo many forces out of the realm but that there was a ſufficiency of men at arms left to defend it, ſhould there be occaſion. He took the road for Southampton, where he tarried until he had a favourable wind, when he embarked with his whole army.

On board the king's ſhip were the prince of Wales and ſir Godfrey de Harcourt: the other lords, earls, and barons embarked with their men, as they had been ordered. There might be about four thouſand men at arms, and ten thouſand archers, not including the Iriſh and the Welch, who followed the army on foot.

I will enumerate the names of thoſe lords that accompanied king Edward. I muſt mention firſt the prince of Wales, who at that time was only thirteen* years old, or thereabouts: there were Humphry Bohun earl of Hereford and Eſſex, his brother William Bohun earl of Northampton, Thomas Beauchamp earl of Warwick, Richard Fitzalan earl of Arundel, John Vere earl of Oxford, William Clinton earl of Huntington, Robert Hufford earl

* This is a miſtake; for he was born the 15th June 1330: he muſt therefore have been ſixteen.

I have copied the names out of Barnes' life of Edward III., wherein he mentions that twenty-two of them, from lord Ughtred, are taken from an old MS. in C. C. C. library, Cambridge, intituled, 'Acta Edwardi filii, Edwardi tertii.'

of Suffolk: of barons, there were the young lord Roger Mortimer, the lord Gerard Liſle, and his kinſman the lord John Liſle, the lord Reginald Cobham, the lords John and Roger Beauchamp, the lord John Moubray, the lord William Roos of Hamlake, the lord Thomas Lucy of Cockermouth, the lord William Felton, the lord Thomas Bradeſtan, the lord Ralph Baſſet of Sapcoat, John lord Willoughby of Ereſby, the lord Peter Manly fifth of the name, Thomas lord Ughtred, John lord Fitzwalter, William lord Kerdeſton, the lord Roger Say, the lord Almaric de St. Amand, the lord Robert Bourchier, the lord John le Strange, the lord Edward Montagu, the lord Richard Talbot, the lord John Mohun of Dunſter, William lord Boteler of Wemme, Robert lord Ferrers, John lord Seymor, John lord Grey, William lord Botreaux, the lord Hugh Spencer, the lord John Striveling, Michael lord Poynings, Robert lord Morley, Thomas lord Aſhley, John lord Sutton, the lord Nicholas Cantilupe, and others: of knights-bachelors, ſir John Chandos, the lord Peter Audley, and the lord James Audley, the lord Bartholemew Burgherſt junior, the lord Thomas Holland, the lord Fulk Fitzwarren, ſir Richard Pembridge, and ſeveral others.

There were few ſtrangers: only ſir Oulphart de Guiſtelles, from the country of Hainault, and five or ſix knights from Germany, whoſe names I have forgotten.

When they embarked, the weather was as favourable as the king could wiſh, to carry him to Gaſcony;

cony; but on the third day, the wind was ſo contrary, they were driven upon the coaſts of Cornwall, where they caſt anchor, and remained for ſix days and ſix nights. During this time, the king altered his mind with reſpect to going towards Gaſcony, through the advice and repreſentations of ſir Godfrey de Harcourt, who convinced him that it would be more for his intereſt to land in Normandy, by ſuch words as theſe: 'Sir, that province is one of the moſt fertile in the world; and I will anſwer on my head, that you may land in any part of it you ſhall pleaſe without hindrance, for no one will think of oppoſing you. The Normans have not been accuſtomed to the uſe of arms; and all the knighthood, that otherwiſe would have been there, are at preſent with the duke before Aiguillon. You will find in Normandy rich towns and handſome caſtles, without any means of defence, and your people will gain wealth enough to ſuffice them for twenty years to come. Your fleet may alſo follow you, up the river Orne, as far as Caen. I therefore intreat you will liſten, and give belief to what I ſay.'

The king, who at that time was in the flower of his youth, and who deſired nothing better than to combat his enemies, paid much attention to what ſir Godfrey de Harcourt, whom he called couſin, had ſaid. He commanded his ſailors to ſteer ſtrait for Normandy, and ordered the flag of the admiral, the earl of Warwick, to be hoiſted on board his ſhip: he took the lead, as admiral of the fleet, and made for Normandy, with a very favourable wind. The

fleet

fleet anchored near to the ſhores of Coutantin*, and the king landed at a port called La Hogue St. Vaſt. News of his arrival was ſoon ſpread abroad: it was told all over the country, that the Engliſh had landed with a very great army. Meſſengers were inſtantly diſpatched to Paris, to the king, from the towns of Coutantin. He had already been informed, that the king of England had embarked a numerous army, and was on the coaſts of Normandy and Brittany; but he was not ſure for what particular part he meant to make. As ſoon, therefore, as he heard the Engliſh had landed, he ſent for his conſtable, the earl of Guignes, and the earl of Tancarville, who were juſt come from Aiguillon, and ordered them to ſet off directly for Caen, to defend that place and the neighbourhood againſt the Engliſh.

They replied, they would cheerfully do it, to the utmoſt of their power, and left the king at Paris, taking with them a number of men at arms, whoſe ranks were every day increaſing, and rode on to Caen, where they were received moſt joyfully by the inhabitants and the good people of the country, who had retired thither, with their effects. Theſe lords immediately made inquiries into the ſtate of the town, which at that time was not walled, and ordered arms to be prepared, to ſupply every one with them according to his degree.

We will now return to the king of England, who had landed at la Hogue St. Vaſt, not far from St.

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* Coutantin,—a diſtrict of Normandy, of which Coutance is the capital town.

Sauveur le Vicomte*, the inheritance of ſir Godfrey de Harcourt, who at that time was a partiſan of England†.

CHAP. CXX.

THE KING OF ENGLAND MARCHES INTO NORMANDY WITH HIS ARMY, IN THREE BATTALIONS.

WHEN the fleet of England was all ſafely arrived at la Hogue, the king leaped on ſhore firſt; but by accident he fell, and with ſuch violence that the blood guſhed out at his noſe: the knights that were near him ſaid, 'Dear ſir, let us intreat you to return to your ſhip, and not think of landing to-day, for this is an unfortunate omen.' The king inſtantly replied, 'For why? I look upon it as very favourable, and a ſign that the land is deſirous of me.'

His people were much pleaſed with this anſwer. The king and his army lay that night upon the ſands. In the mean time, they diſembarked their baggage, armour, and horſes; and there was a council held, to conſider how they could act moſt advantageouſly. The king created two marſhals of his army: one was ſir Godfrey de Harcourt; the other

* Dioceſe of Coutances.

† On the king's landing at la Hogue, he created the Prince of Wales a knight, and, in conſequence, demanded the uſual aid on ſuch occaſions, dated Calais, the nativity of our Lady, 1346.—RYMER.

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the earl of Warwick: and he made the earl of Arundel his conſtable. He ordered the earl of Huntington to remain with his fleet, with a hundred or ſix ſcore men at arms, and four hundred archers. He then held another council reſpecting the order of march, and determined to divide the army into three battalions; one of which ſhould advance on his right, following the ſea-coaſt, and another on his left; and he himſelf, with the prince his ſon, and the main body, in the centre. Every night, the marſhal's battalion was to retire to the quarters of the king. They thus began their march, as they had reſolved upon: thoſe who were on board the fleet coaſted the ſhores, and took every veſſel, great and ſmall, they met with. Both the armies of ſea and land went forward, until they came to a ſtrong town, called Barfleur*, which they ſoon gained; the inhabitants having ſurrendered immediately, for fear of loſing their lives: but that did not prevent the town from being pillaged and robbed of gold, ſilver, and every thing precious that could be found therein. There was ſo much wealth, that the boys of the army ſet no value on gowns trimmed with fur. They made all the townſmen quit the place, and embarked them on board the fleet; for they did not chooſe that, after they had continued their march, they ſhould collect together, and attack them.

After the town of Barfleur had been pillaged, but not burnt, they ſpread themſelves over the

* Dioceſe of Coutances.

country,

country, near the ſea-coaſt, where they did whatever they pleaſed, for there were none to oppoſe them.

They advanced until they came to a conſiderable and wealthy town called Cherbourg*, which they burnt and pillaged in part; but they could not conquer the caſtle, as it was too ſtrong, and well garriſoned with men at arms: they therefore paſſed on, and came before Montebourg, near Valognes, which they pillaged and then ſet fire to it. In this manner did they plunder and burn a great many towns in that country: and acquired ſo much riches that it would have been difficult to have counted their wealth. They afterwards marched to a very conſiderable town, and well incloſed, called Carentan†, which had a ſtrong caſtle, garriſoned by a number of ſoldiers. Thoſe lords that were on board the fleet then diſembarked with their people, and made a vigorous attack upon it; which, when the townſmen perceived, they were fearful of loſing their own lives, as well as thoſe of their wives and children, and opened the gates to them, in ſpite of the men at arms and ſoldiers that were within the town. They voluntarily offered the Engliſh all they had, thinking it beſt for their advantage.

The men at arms, finding the inhabitants determined to admit the Engliſh, retired into the fortreſs, which was very ſtrong; and the Engliſh entered the town; but, not thinking it right to leave ſo

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* Dioceſe of Coutances.

† About three leagues from the ſea, dioceſe of Coutances.

ſtrong

ſtrong a place behind them, for two ſucceſſive days they kept up a ſtrong aſſault againſt the caſtle. Thoſe within, not hearing of any aſſiſtance coming to them, ſurrendered, on condition of their lives and fortunes being ſpared. They marched out, and withdrew to another part of the country.

The Engliſh did what they pleaſed in the town and caſtle; but, finding that they could not conveniently keep them, they burnt and deſtroyed both, and forced the inhabitants to embark on board their fleet, and go with them, as they had done to thoſe of Barfleur, Cherbourg, Montebourg, and all the other towns which they had plundered on the ſea-coaſt.

We will now return to the expedition of the king of England.

As ſoon as he had ſent part of his army under the command of the earl of Warwick, one of his marſhals, and the lord Reginald Cobham, along the ſea-coaſt, as you have heard, he ſet out from la Hogue, where he was lodged, under the guidance of ſir Godfrey de Harcourt, who was well acquainted with every part of Normandy.

Sir Godfrey, as marſhal, advanced before the king, with the van-guard of five hundred armed men and two thouſand archers, and rode on for ſix or ſeven leagues diſtance from the main army, burning and deſtroying the country. They found it rich and plentiful, abounding in all things; the barns full of every ſort of corn, and the houſes with riches: the inhabitants at their eaſe, having

cars, carts, horſes, ſwine, ſheep, and every thing in abundance which the country afforded.

They ſeized whatever they choſe of all theſe good things, and brought them to the king's army; but the ſoldiers did not give any account to their officers, or to thoſe appointed by the king, of the gold and ſilver they took, which they kept to themſelves. In this manner did ſir Godfrey, every day, proceed on the left of the king's army, and each night returned, with his party, to the place where he knew the king intended fixing his quarters. Sometimes, when he found great plenty of forage and booty, he was two or three days before he returned. The king therefore, with the army and baggage, advanced towards St. Lo*, in Coutantin; but, before he arrived there, he took up his quarters on the banks of the river, to wait for the return of that part of his army which he had ſent along the ſea-coaſt.

When they were come back, with all their booty ſafely packed in waggons, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Suffolk, the lord Thomas Holland, and the lord Reginald Cobham, took their march, with their battalion, on the right, burning and deſtroying the country in the ſame way that ſir Godfrey de Harcourt was doing. The king marched, with the main body, between theſe two battalions; and every night they all encamped together.

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* Dioceſe of Coutances.

CHAP. CXXI.

THE KING OF FRANCE COLLECTS A LARGE FORCE, TO OPPOSE THE KING OF ENGLAND.

THUS, whilſt the Engliſh were burning and deſtroying great part of Normandy, the king of France was not idle, but had iſſued out his ſummons to the lord John of Hainault, who came to him with a powerful company of knights from Hainault and elſewhere: he alſo ſent to every earl, baron and knight that were dependent on him. They obeyed his ſummons in ſuch numbers as France had not ſeen for a hundred years; but as thoſe in foreign countries were at great diſtances, they were long before they arrived, and the king of England had overrun and deſtroyed the whole diſtrict of Coutantin in Normandy, to its great detriment.

When king Philip firſt heard of the deſtruction the king of England was making in his realm, he ſwore that the Engliſh ſhould never return without his having combated with them; and, that the miſchief they had done to his people ſhould be dearly paid for. He haſtened, therefore, to diſpatch his letters: he ſent firſt to his good friends in the empire, becauſe they were at the greateſt diſtance, and alſo to the gallant king of Bohemia, whom he much loved, and to the lord Charles of Bohemia his ſon, who had then the title of king of Germany, which he had obtained, as was well known, through the influence of his father and the king of France, and

he had already quartered the arms of the empire. King Philip intreated of them to come ſpeedily to his aſſiſtance, for he was impatient to meet the Engliſh, who were deſpoiling his kingdom.

Theſe lords had no intention of excuſing themſelves, but ſet about collecting a large body of men at arms, from Germany, Bohemia, and Luxembourg, and came to the king of France with a powerful army.

The king of France wrote alſo to the duke of Lorraine, who came to ſerve him with upwards of three hundred lances.

The earl of Savoy*, the earl of Saltzburgh, the earl of Flanders, and earl William of Namur, came alſo to king Philip, each of them with a very handſome company.

You before heard the manner of the king of England's march: the two marſhals on the right and left, and the king and prince of Wales in the centre. They advanced by ſhort marches; and every day they encamped between ten and twelve o'clock. They found the country ſo abounding with proviſions, that they had no need to ſeek for forage, except wines, of which there was a reaſonable quantity. It is not to be wondered at, if the people of the country were alarmed and frightened; for they had never ſeen any men at arms, and knew nothing of war or battles: they therefore fled before the Engliſh, as ſoon as ever they heard

* The earl of Savoy did not come, as you will ſee further on.

they were coming, leaving their houſes and barns quite full, for they had neither means nor art to ſave them.

The king of England and prince of Wales had, in their battalion, about three thouſand men at arms, ſix thouſand archers, ten thouſand infantry, without counting thoſe that were under the marſhals; and they marched on in the manner I have before mentioned, burning and deſtroying the country, but without breaking their line of battle. They did not turn towards Coutances, but advanced to St. Lo, in Coutantin, which in thoſe days was a very rich and commercial town, and worth three ſuch towns as Coutances. In the town of St. Lo was much drapery, and many wealthy inhabitants: among them, you might count eight or nine ſcore that were engaged in commerce.

When the king of England was come near to the town, he encamped: he would not lodge in it for fear of fire. He ſent, therefore, his advanced guard forward, who ſoon conquered it, at a trifling loſs, and completely plundered it. No one can imagine the quantity of riches they found in it, nor the number of bales of cloth. If there had been any purchaſers, they might have bought enough at a very cheap rate.

The Engliſh then advanced towards Caen, which is a much larger town, ſtronger, and fuller of draperies and all other ſorts of merchandize, rich citizens, noble dames and damſels, and fine churches. In particular, there are two very rich monaſteries; one dedicated to St. Stephen, and the other to the

Trinity. The caſtle is ſituated on one ſide of the town: it is the handſomeſt in all Normandy: and ſir Robert de Blargny was governor, with a garriſon of three hundred Genoeſe.

In the heart of the town was the earl of Eu and of Guignes, the conſtable of France, and the earl of Tancarville, with a crowd of men at arms. The king rode on very prudently; and, having united his three battalions, he took up his quarters, for that night, in the fields, two ſhort leagues from Caen, near a town called Eſtreham*, where there is a haven. He ordered the earl of Huntington, whom he had made admiral of his fleet, to ſail for that place. The conſtable of France, and the other lords who were aſſembled in Caen, watched it well that night; and, on the morrow, they armed themſelves, and all the inhabitants. After they were drawn out, the conſtable and the earl of Tancarville ordered that no one ſhould leave the town, but ſhould guard well the bridge, the gates, and the river. They gave up the ſuburbs to the Engliſh; becauſe they were not incloſed; and they thought they ſhould find ſufficient employment to guard the town, which was only defended by the river. The townſmen, however, ſaid, they would march out into the plains, as they were in ſufficient force to fight with the Engliſh. When the conſtable perceived their willingneſs, he ſaid, 'It ſhall be ſo then; but, in God's name, you ſhall not fight

* Eſtreham,—dioceſe of Bayeux, at the mouth of the river Orne, four leagues from Caen.

without me.' They then marched out of the town, in handſome order, and made a ſhow, as if they would fight valiantly, and riſk their lives upon the event.

CHAP. CXXII.

THE BATTLE OF CAEN. THE ENGLISH TAKE THE TOWN.

ON this day the Engliſh roſe very early, and made themſelves ready to march to Caen: the king heard maſs before ſun-riſe, and afterwards mounting his horſe, with the prince of Wales, and ſir Godfrey de Harcourt (who was marſhal and director of the army, and through whoſe advice the king had undertaken this expedition) marched forward in order of battle. The battalion of the marſhals led the van, and came near to the handſome town of Caen.

When the townſmen, who had taken the field, perceived the Engliſh advancing, with banners and pennons flying in abundance, and ſaw thoſe archers whom they had not been accuſtomed to, they were ſo frightened that they betook themſelves to flight, and ran for the town in great diſorder, without regarding the conſtable and the men at arms who were with them. The Engliſh purſued them eagerly; which, when the conſtable and the earl of Tancarville ſaw, they gained a gate at the entrance of the bridge in ſafety, and a few knights with them, for the Engliſh had already entered the town.

Some knights and ſquires of the French, who knew the road to the caſtle, made for it; and the governor, ſir Robert de Blargny, received them all; as the caſtle was very large, and plentifully victualled: thoſe were ſafe that could get there.

The Engliſh, who were after the runaways, made great havoc; for they ſpared none. When the conſtable, and thoſe that had taken refuge with him within the gate of the bridge, looked round them, and ſaw the great ſlaughter the Engliſh were making, for they gave no quarter, they began to fear leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of ſome of thoſe archers, who would not know who they were. But they perceived a knight who had but one eye, named ſir Thomas Holland (whom they had formerly known in Pruſſia and Grenada), coming towards them, in company with five or ſix other knights: they called to him, and aſked if he would take them as his priſoners? Sir Thomas and his company advanced to the gate, and, diſmounting, aſcended to the top, with ſixteen others, where he found the above-mentioned knights, and twenty-five more, who ſurrendered themſelves to ſir Thomas*.

Having

* But here whatſoever Froiſſart doth report of the taking of this town, and of the yielding of theſe two noblemen, it is to be proved, that the ſaid earl of Tancarville was taken by one ſurnamed Legh, anceſtor to ſir Peter Legh now living; whether in the fight or within the tower I have not to ſay: but for the taking of the ſaid earl, and for his other manlike proweſs ſhewed here and elſewhere in this journey, king Edward, in recompenſe of his agreeable ſervice,

Having left a ſufficient guard over them, he mounted his horſe, rode through the ſtreets, and prevented many acts of cruelty: as did alſo other knights and ſquires, to whom ſeveral of the citizens owed their lives, and many a nun was protected from violation by their interference.

It was fortunate for the Engliſh, that it was ebb tide in the river, which carries large veſſels, and the water very ſtill, ſo that they could paſs and repaſs it without any danger from the bridge.

Thoſe inhabitants who had taken refuge in the garrets flung down from them, in theſe narrow ſtreets, ſtones, benches and whatever they could lay hands on; ſo that they killed and wounded upwards of five hundred of the Engliſh, which ſo enraged the king of England, when he received the reports in the evening, that he ordered the remainder of the inhabitants to be put to the ſword, and the town burnt.

But ſir Godfrey de Harcourt ſaid to him: 'Dear ſir, aſſuage ſomewhat of your anger, and be ſatisfied with what has already been done. You have a long journey yet to make before you arrive at Calais, whither it is your intention to go: and there are in this town a great number of inhabitants, who will defend themſelves obſtinately in their houſes, if you force them to it: beſides, it will coſt you many

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vice, gave him a lordſhip in the county of Cheſter, called Hanley, which the ſaid ſir Peter Legh doth now poſſeſs, as ſucceſſor and heir to his anceſtor, the foreſaid Peter Legh, to whom it was ſo firſt given.'—HOLLINGSHED.

lives

lives before the town can be deſtroyed, which may put a ſtop to your expedition to Calais, and it will not redound to your honour: therefore be ſparing of your men, for in a month's time you will have call for them; as it cannot otherwiſe happen, but that your adverſary king Philip, muſt ſoon come to give you battle, and you may meet with many difficulties, aſſaults and ſkirmiſhes, that will find full employment for the number of men you have, and even more, if we could get them. We are complete maſters of the town without any more ſlaughter; and the inhabitants, and all they poſſeſs, are at our diſpoſal.'

The king replied: 'Sir Godfrey, you are our marſhal; therefore order as you pleaſe; for this time, we wiſh not to interfere.'

Sir Godfrey then rode through the ſtreets, his banner diſplayed before him, and ordered, in the king's name, that no one ſhould dare, under pain of immediate death, to inſult or hurt man or woman of the town, or attempt to ſet fire to any part of it.

Several of the inhabitants, on hearing this proclamation, received the Engliſh into their houſes; and others opened their coffers to them, giving up their all, ſince they were aſſured of their lives. However, there were, in ſpite of theſe orders, many atrocious theſts and murders committed.

The Engliſh continued maſters of the town for three days: in this time, they amaſſed great wealth, which they ſent in barges, down the river of Eſtreham, to St. Sauveur, two leagues off, where their fleet

fleet was. The earl of Huntington made preparations therefore, with the two hundred men at arms and his four hundred archers, to carry over to England their riches and priſoners. The king purchaſed from ſir Thomas Holland, and his companions, the conſtable of France and the earl of Tancarville, and paid down twenty thouſand nobles for them.*

CHAP.

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* As the reader may perhaps wiſh to ſee another account of Edward's progreſs, by an eye-witneſs, I copy from Robert de Aveſbury's 'Hiſtoria de mirabilibus geſtis Edwardi tertii,' the following very curious letter:

De Progressu Regis Angliæ de Hogges usque Cadamum.

'Fait a remembrer, qe nre. ſeignr. le Roy & ſou. oſt priſtrent terre a Hogges de Seint Vaal le xiime iour de Juyl & pr. deſkiper ſes chiuaux & repoſer luy & ſez gentz & fourner payn demurra illeoſqes tanq. al Maſdy proſchein ſuaunt. & troua à les Hogges. xi. nieſs de queux. viii. auoint chaſtiel deuaunt & derere les queux homme fiſt ardre. Et le Vendredy taunt come le Roy demurra aſcuns gentz alerent a Barflet & quidoient auer troue pluſours gentz et trouerent nulles a regard & trouerent illeſqes. ix. nieſs oue chaſtiels deuaunt & derere. ii. bones Craiers, & aultres meindres veſſeaux les queux fuſrent duxint arz. & fuſt la ville auxi bone & auxi graunde come la ville de Sandwyche. & apres qe le ditz gentz fuſrent alez lez marineres arderent la ville. & ſont arz pluſours des bonnes villes & manoirs en la pais enuyron. Et le Marſdy qe le Roy remua il ala a Valoignes & gueſt illeoſqes tout la nuyt & troua des vitailles aſſetz. Et lendemayn remua un graunt journey tanq. a pount dou. quelle ceaux de la ville de Carentane debruſerent. & le Roy le fiſt refaire meſme la nuyt. & paſſa lendemain tanqe al dite ville de Carentane qe neſt forſq. entor. une lieug Engleis del dit pout. la quelle ville eſt auxy groſſe come Leyceſtre ou il trouerent vynes &. vitailles graunt foiſon & fuſt mult

de

CHAP. CXXIII.

THE ENGLISH COMMIT GREAT DISORDERS IN NORMANDY.—SIR GODFREY DE HARCOURT ENCOUNTERS THE MEN OF AMIENS, ON THEIR WAY TO PARIS,—AND KING EDWARD MARCHES INTO PICARDY.

WHEN the king had finiſhed his buſineſs in Caen, and had ſent his fleet to England, loaded with cloths, jewels, gold and ſilver plate, and

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de la ville arz pr. rien, qe le Roy purroit faire. Et le Vendredy le Roy ala & geuſt-en villes campeſtres four une Ryuer qe fuſt mal a paſſer & ceaux de la ville de Seint Lee debruſerent le pount & le Roy le fiſt refeare & paſſa lendemayn luy & ſoun oſt ſe herberga ioynant a la ville & auoient tutz de la ville comence daſſorcer la dite ville & attret a eaux multz dez gentz darmes dauoir tenu de meſme la ville & ſen alerent auaunt la venue de Roy. & trouerent en la dite ville bien. Ml. tonels de vyn & des aultres biens graunt foiſon. & eſt la rille pluis groſſe qe neſt Nichole. Et lendemain le Roy priſt ſon. chamyn e geuſt a une abbey & ſon. oſt as villes campeſtres entour luy: & chiuacherent les gentz del oſt robbantz & deſtruyantz. v. ou vi. leges enuyron. toutz les iour & arderent en pluſours lieux. Et la lundy le Roy remua & ſe herberga a villes campeſtres & le Marſdy auxint. Et le Meſqerdy par temps vient deuaunt la ville de Caame a houre de none & auoit nouelx qe graunt foiſon. dez gentz darmez ſufrent deinz la ville. & le Roy fiſt arraier ſes batailles beals & groſſes. & maunda aſcuns gentz a la ville des veer & troueront le chaſtiel beal & fort & leinz fuſt leueſqe de Baions chiualers & gentz darmes q. le teignent. Et cele partie de la eawe eſt la ville mult biele & mult groſſe & al une bout de la ville eſt une abbey ſi noble come il poet eſtre ou William le Conqueror giſt, & eſt ferme des mures & tours

batailles

and a quantity of other riches, and upwards of ſixty knights, with three hundred able citizens, priſoners; he then left his quarters and continued his march as

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batailles graunt̃z & fortz. en quelle abbey nulle homme neſtoit. Et al aultre bout de la ville un aultre noble abbey des dames. & nul homme ne fuſt demurraunt as ditz abbeies ne en la ville de cele part eawe forſqe en le chaſtiel, & les gentz de la ville fuſrent trabez en la ville del aultre part del eawe. ou le Conſtable de Fraunce eſtoit. et le Chamberlayn de Tankeruyle qeſt un mult graunt ſeignr. & pluſours gentz a la mountance de. D. ou DC. & la comune de la ville. & noz gentz del oſt ſaunz-aſſent & ſaunz arraie aſſaillerent le pount qe fuſt mult bien afforce des Bretages & barrer & auoient mult affeare & les Fraunceys defenderent le dit pount fortment. & a eaux porteront mult bien deuaunt qil poet eſtre pris ſour eaux. & adonqes fuſrent pris les ditz Conſtable and Chamberlain & al mountance de cent. chiualers.

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et des eſquiers VI. ou. VII. et mortz chiualers, eſquiers, & aultres gentz de la ville graunt foiſon. en les rues meſons, & es gardeins homme ne poet mye ſauoir quelle nombre des gentz de bien purceo qils fuſrent tantoſt deſpoillez qe homme ne les purroit conuſtre. Et nul gentilhomme mort de noz forſq. une eſquier qe fuſt bleſie & moruſt. II. iours apres. Et fuſrent troue en la ville vines, vitailles & aultres biens, & chateaux ſaunz nombre, & eſt la ville plus groſſe q. nulle ville Dengleterre horſpris Loundres. Et quaunt le Roy ſe remua de les Hogges entor. CC. de niefs demurrerent les queux alerent a Rothemaſſe & alerent & arderent la pais. II. lieges ou. III. deinz la terre & priſterent pluſours biens & ameſnerent a lours niefs. & iſſint alerent puis a Cherburgh ou il y aad une bone ville & fort chaſtiel & une beal abbeie & noble & ount arz la dite ville & labbeie. & tount ount ars par toutz les coſtes for. la mear de Rothemaſſe tanq. a

XX

hoſtrem for. la hauene de Caame qamounte a. VI. lieges engleis & eſt le nombre des niefs qils ount ars. LXI. de guerre

od

as before, his two marſhals on his right and left burning and deſtroying all the flat country.

He took the road to Evreux*, but found he could not gain any thing there, as it was well fortified. He went on towards another town called Louviers†, which was in Normandy, and where there were many manufactories of cloth: it was rich and commercial.

The Engliſh won it eaſily, as it was not incloſed; and having entered the town, it was plundered without oppoſition. They collected much wealth there; and, after they had done what they pleaſed, they marched on into the county of Evreux, where they burnt every thing except the fortified towns and caſtles, which the king left unattacked, as he was deſirous of ſparing his men and artillery. He therefore made for the banks of the Seine, in his approach to Rouen, where there were plenty of men at arms from Normandy, under the command of the earl of Harcourt, brother to ſir Godfrey, and the earl of Dreux.

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od chaſtiel deuaunt & derere &. XXIII. craiers ſaunz aultres meindres veſſeaux pluſours de. XXI. come de XXX. tonels de vyn: Et le Jeoſdy apres celo qle Roy fuſt vendz deuaunt Caame ceaux de la Citee de Bions demaundrent a nre. ſeigur. le Roy qils ſe voudroient rendre a luy eaux & lour ville & luy faire homage meas il ne lez voleit reſceure pr. aſcuns encheſouns & tanq. les purreit ſaluer de damage.'

* An ancient town in Normandy, and a biſhoprick, twenty-eight leagues from Caen.

† Louviers,—in the dioceſe of Evreux. It ſtill maintains its celebrity for the goodneſs of its cloths.

The

The Engliſh did not march direct towards Rouen, but went to Giſors*, which has a ſtrong caſtle, and burnt the town. After this, they deſtroyed Vernon†, and all the country between Rouen and Pont de l'Arche‡: they then came to Mantes§ and Meulan‖, which they treated in the ſame manner, and ravaged all the country round about. They paſſed by the ſtrong caſtle of Roulleboiſe¶, and every where found the bridges on the Seine broken down. They puſhed forward until they came to Poiſſy**, where the bridge was alſo deſtroyed; but the beams and other parts of it were lying in the river. The king remained here five days, whilſt they were repairing the bridge, ſo that his army might paſs over without danger.

His marſhals advanced very near to Paris, and burnt St. Germain en Laye††, la Montjoie‡‡, St. Cloud§§, Boulogne near Paris, and Bourg la Reine‖‖. The Pariſians were much alarmed, for Paris at that time was not incloſed.

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* Dioceſe of Rouen, fourteen leagues from Rouen.

† Dioceſe of Evreux, thirteen leagues from Rouen.

‡ Dioceſe of Evreux, four leagues from Rouen.

§ In the Iſle of France, dioceſe of Chartres, nineteen leagues from Rouen.

‖ In the Iſle of France, ten leagues from Paris, twenty-three from Rouen.

¶ A village in Normandy, election of Chaumont.

** In the Iſle of France, ſeven leagues from Paris.

†† In the Iſle of France, five leagues from Paris.

‡‡ Q. if not Montjoye St. Denis.

§§ Iſle of France, two leagues from Paris.

‖‖ Iſle of France, one league from Paris.

King Philip, upon this, began to ſtir, and, having ordered all the pent houſes in Paris to be pulled down, went to St. Denis*, where he found the king of Bohemia, the lord John of Hainault, the duke of Lorraine, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Blois, and great multitudes of barons and knights, ready to receive him. When the Pariſians learnt that the king was on the point of quitting Paris, they came to him, and, falling on their knees, ſaid, 'Ah, ſire, and noble king, what are you about to do? to leave your fine city of Paris?' The king replied: 'My good people, do not be afraid: the Engliſh will not approach you nearer than they have done.' He thus ſpoke in anſwer to what they had ſaid, that 'our enemies are only two leagues off: as ſoon as they ſhall know you have quitted us they will come hither directly; and we are not able to reſiſt them ourſelves, nor ſhall we find any to defend us. Have the kindneſs, therefore, ſire, to remain in your good city of Paris, to take care of us.' The king replied: 'I am going to St. Denis, to my army; for I am impatient to purſue the Engliſh, and am reſolved to fight with them at all events.'

The king of England remained at the nunnery in Poiſſy to the middle of Auguſt, and celebrated there the feaſt of the Virgin Mary. He ſat at table in his ſcarlet robes without ſleeves, trimmed with furs and ermines. He afterwards took the field, and his army marched as before: ſir Godfrey de Har-

*Iſle of France, two leagues from Paris.

court

court, one of his marſhals, had the command of the van-guard, with five hundred men at arms, and about thirteen hundred archers. By accident, he fell in with a large party of the citizens of Amiens on horſeback, who were going to king Philip at Paris, in obedience to his ſummons. He immediately attacked them with thoſe under his command; but they made a good defence, as they were very numerous and well armed, and had four knights from Amiens with them. This engagement laſted a long time, and many were ſlain at the onſet; but at laſt thoſe from Amiens were overthrown, killed or taken priſoners.

The Engliſh ſeized all their baggage and arms, and found many valuables; for they were going to the king excellently well equipped, and had but juſt quitted their city. Twelve hundred were left dead on the ſpot.

The king of England entered the country of Beauvais, deſtroying all the flat country, and took up his quarters in a rich abbey called St. Meſſien, near to Beauvais,* where he lodged one night. The morrow as he was on his march, he by chance turned his head round, and ſaw the abbey all in flames: upon which he inſtantly ordered twenty of thoſe who had ſet fire to it to be hung, as he had moſt ſtrictly forbidden, that any church ſhould be violated, or monaſtery ſet on fire. He paſſed near Beauvais without attacking it, for he was anxious to be as careful of his men and artillery as poſſible, and

* A city in the iſle of France, ſixteen leagues from Paris.

took up his quarters at a ſmall town called Milly.—The two marſhals paſſed ſo near to Beauvais, that they advanced to attack it and ſkirmiſh with the townſmen at the barriers, and divided their forces into three battalions; this attack laſted until the afternoon; for the town was well fortified and provided with every thing, and the biſhop was alſo there, whoſe exertions were of more ſervice than thoſe of all the reſt. When the Engliſh found they could not gain any thing, they ſet fire to the ſuburbs, which they burnt quite cloſe to the gates of the town, and then came, towards evening, to where the king was.

The next day, the king and his whole army marched forward, burning and waſting all the country as they went, and lay that night at a village called Grandvillier. On the morrow, he paſſed near to Argis: his ſcouts not finding any one to guard the caſtle, he attacked and burnt it, and, paſſing on, deſtroyed the country, and came to Poix,† which was a handſome town with two caſtles. The lords of both were abſent; and no one was there but two handſome daughters of the lord of Poix, who would have been ſoon violated, if two Engliſh knights, ſir John Chandos and lord Baſſet, had not defended them. In order more effectually to guard them, they brought them to the king, who, as in honor bound, entertained them moſt graciouſly: he inquired, whither they would wiſh to go? they

* A town in the dioceſe of Beauvais.

† Poix—a town in Picardy, ſix leagues from Amiens.

anſwered,

anſwered, To Corbie*; to which place they were conducted in ſafety. The king of England lay that night in the town of Poix.

The inhabitants of Poix, as well as thoſe of the caſtles, had a conference with the marſhals of the army, in order to ſave the town from being plundered and burnt. They offered to pay, as a ranſom, a certain number of florins the enſuing day, as ſoon as the army ſhould have marched off. On the morrow morning, the king and army departed, except ſome few, who remained behind, by orders of the marſhals, to receive the ranſom from the townſmen.

When the inhabitants were aſſembled together, and conſidered the ſmall number of the Engliſh who were left with them, they reſolved to pay nothing, told them ſo, and directly fell upon them. The Engliſh defended themſelves gallantly, and ſent after the army for ſuccour. When lord Reginald Cobham and ſir Thomas Holland, who commanded the rear-guard, were told of this, they cried out, 'Treaſon! treaſon!' and returned back to Poix, where they found their countrymen ſtill engaged with the townſmen. Almoſt all the inhabitants were ſlain, the town was burnt, and the two caſtles razed to the ground. The Engliſh then followed the king's army, which was arrived at Airaines,† where he had ordered the troops to halt, and to quarter themſelves for that night, ſtrictly commanding, under

* Corbie,—a town in Picardy, four leagues from Amiens.

† A town in Picardy, four leagues from Amiens.

pain of death, that no harm ſhould be done to the town or inhabitants, by theft or otherwiſe; for he wiſhed to remain there a day or two, in order to gain information where he could beſt croſs the river Somme, which he was under the neceſſity of doing, as you will ſhortly hear.

CHAP. CXXIV.

THE KING OF FRANCE PURSUES THE KING OF ENGLAND, IN THE COUNTRY OF BEAUVAIS.

I WISH now to return to king Philip, whom we left at St. Denis with his army, which was increaſing every day. He marched off with it, and puſhed forward until he came to Coppigny les Guiſes, which is three leagues diſtant from Amiens, where he halted.

The king of England, who was ſtill at Airaines, was much embarraſſed how to croſs the Somme, which was wide and deep, as all the bridges had been broken down, and their ſituations were well guarded by men at arms. The two marſhals, at the requeſt of the king, followed the courſe of the river, in order, if poſſible, to find a paſſage for the army: they had with them a thouſand men at arms and two thouſand archers.

They paſſed by Lompré,* and came to Pont de Remy,† which they found defended by numbers

* Lompré-Corps-Saints, a ſmall town in Picardy.

† In the election of Abbeville.

of

of knights, ſquires and people of the country. The Engliſh diſmounted, and attacked the French from the very dawn of the morning until near ten o'clock: but the bridge was ſo well fortified and guarded, that they could not gain any thing; ſo they departed, and went to a large town called Fontaines ſur Somme*, which they completely plundered and burnt, as it was quite open. They next came to another town, called Long, in Ponthieu;† but they could not gain the bridge, ſo well was it guarded.

They then rode on to Pecquigny,‡ but found the town, caſtle and bridge, ſo well garriſoned that it was impoſſible to paſs.

In this manner had the king of France ordered all the bridges and fords of the river Somme to be guarded, to prevent the king of England from croſſing it with his army; for he was reſolved to force them to fight when he ſhould ſee the moſt favourable opportunity, or elſe to ſtarve them.

The two marſhals, having thus in vain followed the courſe of the Somme, returned to the king of England, and related to him that they were unable to find a paſſage any where.

That ſame evening, the king of France took up his quarters at Amiens, with upwards of one hundred thouſand men.

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* In Picardy.

† A fertile diſtrict of Picardy, between the rivers Somme and Canche.

‡ A town, in Picardy, on the Somme, three leagues from Amiens.

The king of England was very penſive: he ordered maſs before ſun-riſe, and his trumpets to ſound for decamping.

All ſorts of people followed the marſhals' banners according to the orders the king had iſſued the preceding day; and they marched through the country of Vimeu,* drawing near to the good town of Abbeville. In their march, they came to a town where a great number of the country people had aſſembled, truſting to ſome ſmall fortifications which were thrown up there; but the Engliſh conquered the town, as ſoon as they came to it, and all that were within. Many of the townſmen and thoſe from the adjoining country were ſlain or taken priſoners. The king lodged, that night, in the great hoſpital.

The king of France ſet out from Amiens, and came to Airaines about noon: the Engliſh king had quitted it about 10 o'clock. The French found there proviſions of all ſorts; meat on the ſpits, bread and paſtry in the ovens, wine in barrels, and even ſome tables ready ſpread, for the Engliſh had left it in very great haſte. The king of France fixed his quarters there, to wait for his nobles and their retinue. The king of England was in the town of Oiſemont.† When his two marſhals returned in the evening, after having overrun the country as far as the gates of Abbeville, and to St. Valery, where they had had a ſmart ſkirmiſh, the king of England ſummoned a council, and or-

* A diſtrict in Picardy, of which St. Valery is the capital.

† A town in Picardy, four leagues from Amiens, five from St. Valery.

dered many priſoners, whom his people had made in the diſtricts of Ponthieu and Vimeu, to be brought before him.

The king, moſt courteouſly, aſked, 'if any of them knew a ford below Abbeville, where he and his army could paſs without danger;' and added, 'Whoever will ſhew us ſuch a ford ſhall have his liberty, and that of any twenty of his fellow ſoldiers whom he may wiſh to ſelect.' There was among them, a common fellow whoſe name was Gobin Agace, who anſwered the king, and ſaid, 'Sir, I promiſe you, under peril of my life, that I will conduct you to ſuch a place, where you and your whole army may paſs the river Somme without any riſk. There are certain fordable places where you may paſs twelve men a-breast twice in the day, and not have water above your knees; but when the tide is in, the river is full and deep, and no one can croſs it: when the tide is out, the river is ſo low that it may be paſſed, on horſeback or on foot, without danger. The bottom of this ford is very hard, of gravel and white ſtones, over which all your carriages may ſafely paſs, and from thence is called Blanchetaque. You muſt therefore ſet out early, ſo as to be at the ford before ſun-riſe.' 'Friend,' replied the king, 'if I find what thou had juſt ſaid to be true, I will give thee and all thy companions their liberty; and I will beſides make thee a preſent of a hundred nobles.'

The king gave orders for every one to be ready to march at the firſt ſound of his trumpet, and to proceed forward.

CHAP. CXXV.

THE BATTLE OF BLANCHETAQUE, BETWEEN THE KING OF ENGLAND AND SIR GODEMAR DU FAY.

THE king of England did not ſleep much that night, but, riſing at midnight, ordered his trumpet to ſound. Very ſoon every thing was ready; and, the baggage being loaded, they ſet out from the town of Oiſemont about day-break, and rode on, under the guidance of Gobin Agace, until they came to the ford of Blanchetaque, about ſun-riſe: but the tide was at that time ſo full, they could not croſs. The king, however, determined to wait there for thoſe of his army who were not yet come up; and he remained until after ten o'clock, when the tide was gone out.

The king of France, who had his ſcouts all over the country, was informed of the ſituation of the king of England: he imagined he ſhould be able to ſhut him up between Abbeville and the Somme, and thus take him priſoner, or force him to fight at a diſadvantage. From the time of his arrival at Amiens, he had ordered a great baron of Normandy, called ſir Godémar du Fay, to guard this ford of Blanchetaque, which the Engliſh muſt croſs, and no where elſe. Sir Godémar had ſet out, in obedience to this order, and had with him, in the whole, one thouſand men at arms and ſix thouſand foot with the Genoeſe. He had paſſed St. Ricquier* in

* St. Ricquier,—two leagues and a half from Abbeville.

Ponthieu,

Ponthieu, and from thence came to Crotoy*, where this ford was: he had collected, in his march, great numbers of the country people. The townſmen of Abbeville had alſo accompanied him, excellently well appointed: they had arrived at the paſſage before the Engliſh. There were, in all, fully twelve thouſand men; among them were two thouſand who had jackets, reſembling waggoner's frocks, called *torviquiaux*.

On the arrival of the Engliſh army, ſir Godémar du Fay drew up his men on the banks of the river, to defend and guard the ford.

The king of England, however, did not for this give up his intention of croſſing; but, as ſoon as the tide was ſufficiently gone out, he ordered his marſhals to daſh into the water, in the names of God and St. George. The moſt doughty and the beſt mounted leaped in firſt; and, in the river, the engagement began: many on both ſides were unhorſed into the water: there were ſome knights and ſquires, from Artois and Picardy, in the pay of ſir Godémar, who, in hopes of preferment, and to acquire honor, had poſted themſelves at this ford, and they appeared to be equally fond of tilting in the water as upon dry land.

The French were drawn up in battle array, near the narrow paſs leading to the ford; and the Engliſh were much annoyed by them as they came out of the water to gain the land; for there were among

* A town in Picardy, at the mouth of the Somme, oppoſite to St. Valery.

them Genoeſe croſs-bowmen who did them much miſchief. On the other hand, the Engliſh archers ſhot ſo well together that they forced the men at arms to give way. At this ford of Blanchetaque many gallant feats of arms were performed on each ſide; but, in the end, the Engliſh croſſed over, and, as they came on ſhore, haſtened to the fields. After the king, the prince, and the other lords had croſſed, the French did not long keep in the order they were in, but ran off for the faſteſt.

When ſir Godémar du Fay found his army was diſcomfited, he ſaved himſelf as quickly as he could, and many with him; ſome making for Abbeville, others for St. Ricquier.

The infantry, however, could not eſcape; and there were numbers of thoſe from Abbeville, Arras, Montreuil and St. Ricquier, ſlain or taken priſoners: the purſuit laſted more than a league.

The Engliſh had ſcarcely gained the oppoſite bank, when ſome of the light horſe of the French army, particularly thoſe belonging to the king of Bohemia and ſir John of Hainault, advanced upon the rear, took from them ſome horſes and accoutrements, and ſlew ſeveral on the bank who were late in croſſing.

The king of France had ſet out from Airaines that morning, thinking to find the Engliſh on the banks of the Somme: when news was brought to him of the defeat of ſir Godémar and his army, he immediately halted, and demanded from his marſhals, what was to be done: they anſwered, 'You can only croſs the river by the bridge of Abbeville,

Abbeville, for the tide is now in at Blanchetaque.' The king of France therefore returned back, and took up his quarters at Abbeville.

The king of England, when he had croſſed the Somme, gave thanks to God for it, and began his march in the ſame order as he had done before. He called to him Gobin Agace, gave him his freedom without ranſom, as well as that of his companions, and ordered the hundred nobles of gold to be given him, and alſo a good horſe. The king continued his march, thinking to take up his quarters at a good and large town called Noyelle*, ſituated hard by; but when he was informed that it belonged to the counteſs d'Aumarle, ſiſter to the late lord Robert d'Artois, he ſent to aſſure the inhabitants, as well as all the farmers belonging to her, that they ſhould not be hurt. He marched further on; but his two marſhals rode to Crotoy, near the ſea; they took the town, and burnt it. In the harbour they found many ſhips, and other veſſels, laden with wines, from Poitou, Saintonge and la Rochelle: they ordered the beſt to be carried to the Engliſh army: then one of the marſhals puſhed forward, even as far as the gates of Abbeville, and returned by St. Ricquier, following the ſea-ſhore to the town of St. Eſprit de Rue†.

Theſe two battalions of the marſhals came, on a Friday in the afternoon, to where the king was;

* Government of Montreuil.

† Two leagues from St. Valery. I believe it is now called Rue only.

and

and they fixed their quarters, all three together, near Crecy in Ponthieu.

The king of England, who had been informed that the king of France was following him, in order to give him battle, ſaid to his people; 'Let us poſt ourſelves here; for we will not go farther, before we have ſeen our enemies. I have good reaſon to wait for them on this ſpot; as I am now upon the lawful inheritance of my lady-mother, which was given her as her marriage-portion; and I am reſolved to defend it againſt my adverſary, Philippe de Valois.'

On account of his not having more than an eighth part of the forces which the king of France had, his marſhals fixed upon the moſt advantageous ſituation; and the army went and took poſſeſſion of it. He then ſent his ſcouts towards Abbeville, to learn if the king of France meant to take the field this Friday; but they returned, and ſaid they ſaw no appearance of it; upon which, he diſmiſſed his men to their quarters, with orders to be in readineſs by times in the morning, and to aſſemble in the ſame place.

The king of France remained all Friday in Abbeville, waiting for more troops. He ſent his marſhals, the lord of St. Venant and lord Charles of Montmorency, out of Abbeville, to examine the country, and get ſome certain intelligence of the Engliſh. They returned, about veſpers, with information that the Engliſh were encamped on the plain.

That

That night, the king of France entertained at ſupper, in Abbeville, all the princes and chief lords. There was much converſation relative to war; and the king intreated them, after ſupper, that they would always remain in friendſhip with each other; that they would be friends without jealouſy, and courteous without pride. The king was still expecting the earl of Savoy, who ought to have been there with a thouſand lances, as he had been well paid for them at Troyes in Champaign, three months in advance.

CHAP. CXXVI.

THE ORDER OF BATTLE OF THE ENGLISH AT CRECY, WHO WERE DRAWN UP IN THREE BATTALIONS ON FOOT.

THE king of England, as I have mentioned before, encamped this Friday in the plain; for he found the country abounding in proviſions; but, if they ſhould have failed, he had plenty in the carriages which attended on him. The army ſet about furbiſhing and repairing their armour; and the king gave a ſupper, that evening, to the earls and barons of his army, where they made good cheer. On their taking leave, the king remained alone, with the lords of his bed-chamber: he retired into his oratory, and, falling on his knees before the altar, prayed to God, that, if he ſhould combat his enemies on the morrow, he might come off with honor. About midnight he went to his bed; and, riſing

riſing early the next day, he and the prince of Wales heard maſs, and communicated. The greater part of his army did the ſame, confeſſed, and made proper preparations.

After maſs, the king ordered his men to arm themſelves, and aſſemble on the ground he had before fixed on. He had incloſed a large park near a wood, on the rear of his army, in which he placed all his baggage-waggons and horſes; and this park had but one entrance: his men at arms and archers remained on foot.

The king afterwards ordered, through his conſtable and his two marſhals, that the army ſhould be divided into three battalions. In the firſt, he placed the young prince of Wales, and with him the earls of Warwick and Oxford, ſir Godfrey de Harcourt, the lord Reginald Cobham, lord Thomas Holland, lord Stafford, lord Mauley, the lord Delaware, ſir John Chandos, lord Bartholomew Burgherſt, lord Robert Neville, lord Thomas Clifford, the lord Bourchier, the lord Latimer, and many other knights and ſquires whom I cannot name. There might be, in this firſt diviſion, about eight hundred men at arms, two thouſand archers, and a thouſand Welchmen. They advanced in regular order to their ground, each lord under his banner and pennon, and in the centre of his men.

In the ſecond battalion were, the earl of Northampton, the earl of Arundel, the lords Roos, Willoughby, Baſſet, Saint-albans, ſir Lewis Tuſton, lord Multon, the lord Laſcels, and many others; amount-

amounting, in the whole, to about eight hundred men at arms, and twelve hundred archers.

The third battalion was commanded by the king, and was compoſed of about ſeven hundred men at arms, and two thouſand archers.

The king then mounted a ſmall palfry, having a white wand in his hand, and attended by his two marſhals on each ſide of him: he rode a foot's pace through all the ranks, encouraging and intreating the army, that they would guard his honor and defend his right. He ſpoke this ſo ſweetly, and with ſuch a cheerful countenance, that all who had been diſpirited were directly comforted by ſeeing and hearing him.

When he had thus viſited all the battalions, it was near ten o'clock: he retired to his own diviſion, and ordered them all to eat heartily, and drink a glaſs after. They eat and drank at their eaſe; and, having packed up pots, barrels, &c. in the carts, they returned to their battalions, according to the marſhals' orders, and ſeated themſelves on the ground, placing their helmets and bows before them, that they might be the freſher when their enemies ſhould arrive.

CHAP. CXXVII.

THE ORDER OF THE FRENCH ARMY AT CRECY.

THAT ſame Saturday, the king of France roſe betimes, and heard maſs in the monaſtery of St. Peter's in Abbeville, where he was lodged: having ordered

ordered his army to do the ſame, he left that town after ſun-riſe. When he had marched about two leagues from Abbeville, and was approaching the enemy, he was adviſed to form his army in order of battle, and to let thoſe on foot march forward, that they might not be trampled on by the horſes. The king, upon this, ſent off four knights, the lord Moyne of Baſtleberg*, the lord of Noyers, the lord of Beaujeu, and the lord of Aubigny, who rode ſo near to the Engliſh that they could clearly diſtinguiſh their poſition. The Engliſh plainly perceived they were come to reconnoitre them: however, they took no notice of it, but ſuffered them to return unmoleſted. When the king of France ſaw them coming back, he halted his army; and the knights, puſhing through the crowds, came near the king, who ſaid to them, 'My lords, what news?' They looked at each other, without opening their mouths: for neither choſe to ſpeak firſt. At laſt, the king addreſſed himſelf to the lord Moyne, who was attached to the king of Bohemia, and had performed very many gallant deeds, ſo that he was eſteemed one of the moſt valiant knights in Chriſtendom. The lord Moyne ſaid, 'Sir, I will ſpeak, ſince it pleaſes you to order me, but under the correction of my companions. We have advanced far enough to reconnoitre your enemies. Know, then, that they are drawn up in three battalions, and are waiting for you. I would adviſe, for my part, (ſubmitting, however, to better counſel,) that you halt

* The lord Moyne of Baſtleburg in Bohemia.—BARNES.

your

your army here, and quartered them for the night; for before the rear ſhall come up, and the army be properly drawn out, it will be very late, your men will be tired and in diſorder, whilſt they will find your enemies freſh and properly arrayed. On the morrow, you may draw up your army more at your eaſe, and may reconnoitre at leiſure on what part it will be moſt advantageous to begin the attack; for, be aſſured, they will wait for you.'

The king commanded that it ſhould be ſo done: and the two marſhals rode, one towards the front, and the other to the rear, crying out, 'Halt banners, in the name of God and St. Denis.' Thoſe that were in the front halted; but thoſe behind ſaid they would not halt, until they were as forward as the front. When the front perceived the rear preſſing on, they puſhed forward; and neither the king nor the marſhals could ſtop them, but they marched on without any order until they came in ſight of their enemies. As ſoon as the foremoſt rank ſaw them, they fell back at once, in great diſorder, which alarmed thoſe in the rear, who thought they had been fighting. There was then ſpace and room enough for them to have paſſed forward, had they been willing ſo to do: ſome did ſo, but others remained ſhy.

All the roads between Abbeville and Crecy were covered with common people, who, when they were come within three leagues of their enemies, drew their ſwords, bawling out, 'Kill, kill;' and with them were many great lords that were eager to make ſhew of their courage. There is no man,

unleſs he had been preſent, that can imagine, or deſcribe truly, the confuſion of that day; eſpecially the bad management and diſorder of the French, whoſe troops were out of number. What I know, and ſhall relate in this book, I have learnt chiefly from the Engliſh, who had well obſerved the confuſion they were in, and from thoſe attached to ſir John of Hainault, who was always near the perſon of the king of France.

CHAP. CXXVIII.

THE BATTLE OF CRECY, BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND OF ENGLAND.

THE Engliſh, who were drawn up in three diviſions, and ſeated on the ground, on ſeeing their enemies advance, roſe undauntedly up, and fell into their ranks. That of the prince was the firſt to do ſo, whoſe archers were formed in the manner of a portcullis, or harrow, and the men at arms in the rear.

The earls of Northampton and Arundel, who commanded the ſecond diviſion, had poſted themſelves in good order on his wing, to aſſiſt and ſuccour the prince, if neceſſary.

You muſt know, that theſe kings, dukes, earls, barons and lords of France, did not advance in any regular order, but one after the other, or any way moſt pleaſing to themſelves. As ſoon as the king of France came in ſight of the Engliſh, his blood began to boil, and he cried out to his marſhals,

'Order

'Order the Genoeſe forward, and begin the battle, in the name of God and St. Denis.'

There were about fifteen thouſand Genoeſe croſs-bowmen; but they were quite fatigued, having marched on foot that day ſix leagues, completely armed, and with their croſs-bows.

They told the conſtable, they were not in a fit condition to do any great things that day in battle. The earl of Alençon, hearing this, ſaid, 'This is what one gets by employing ſuch ſcoundrels, who fall off when there is any need for them.'

During this time, a heavy rain fell, accompanied by thunder and a very terrible eclipſe of the ſun; and before this rain a great flight of crows hovered in the air over all thoſe battalions, making a loud noiſe. Shortly afterwards it cleared up, and the ſun ſhone very bright; but the Frenchmen had it in their faces, and the Engliſh in their backs.

When the Genoeſe were ſomewhat in order, and approached the Engliſh, they ſet up a loud ſhout, in order to frighten them; but they remained quite ſtill, and did not ſeem to attend to it. They then ſet up a ſecond ſhout, and advanced a little forward; but the Engliſh never moved. They hooted a third time, advancing with their croſs-bows preſented, and began to ſhoot. The Engliſh archers then advanced one ſtep forward, and ſhot their arrows with ſuch force and quickneſs, that it ſeemed as if it ſnowed.

When the Genoeſe felt theſe arrows, which pierced their arms, heads, and through their armour, ſome of them cut the ſtrings of their croſs-

bows, others flung them on the ground, and all turned about, and retreated, quite diſcomfited. The French had a large body of men at arms on horſe-back, richly dreſſed, to ſupport the Genoeſe.

The king of France, ſeeing them thus fall back, cried out, 'Kill me thoſe ſcoundrels; for they ſtop up our road, without any reaſon.' You would then have ſeen the above-mentioned men at arms lay about them, killing all they could of theſe run-aways.

The Engliſh continued ſhooting as vigorouſly and quickly as before; ſome of their arrows fell among the horſemen, who were ſumptuouſly equipped, and, killing and wounding many, made them caper and fall among the Genoeſe, ſo that they were in ſuch confuſion they could never rally again. In the Engliſh army there were ſome Corniſh and Welchmen on foot, who had armed themſelves with large knives: theſe, advancing through the ranks of the men at arms and archers, who made way for them, came upon the French when they were in this danger, and, falling upon earls, barons, knights and ſquires, ſlew many, at which the king of England was afterwards much exaſperated.

The valiant king of Bohemia was ſlain there. He was called Charles of Luxembourg; for he was the ſon of the gallant king and emperor, Henry of Luxembourg: having heard the order of the battle, he inquired where his ſon, the lord Charles, was: his attendants anſwered, that they did not know, but believed he was fighting. The king ſaid to them; 'Gentlemen, you are all my people, my

friends and brethren at arms this day: therefore, as I am blind*, I requeſt of you to lead me ſo far into the engagement that I may ſtrike one ſtroke with my ſword.' The knights replied, they would directly lead him forward; and, in order that they might not loſe him in the crowd, they faſtened all the reins of their horſes together, and put the king at their head, that he might gratify his wiſh, and advanced towards the enemy.

The lord Charles of Bohemia, who already ſigned his name as king of Germany, and bore the arms, had come in good order to the engagement; but when he perceived that it was likely to turn out againſt the French, he departed, and I do not well know what road he took.

The king, his father, had rode in among the enemy, and made good uſe of his ſword; for he and his companions had fought moſt gallantly. They had advanced ſo far that they were all ſlain; and on the morrow they were found on the ground, with their horſes all tied together.

The earl of Alençon advanced in regular order upon the Engliſh, to fight with them; as did the earl of Flanders, in another part. Theſe two lords, with their detachments, coaſting, as it were, the archers, came to the prince's battalion, where they fought valiantly for a length of time. The king of France was eager to march to the place where he

* His blindneſs was ſuppoſed to be cauſed by poiſon, which was given to him when engaged in the wars of Italy.—*Bonamy. Mem. de l' Academie*, vol. xxiii.

ſaw their banners diſplayed, but there was a hedge of archers before him.

He had that day made a preſent of a handſome black horſe to ſir John of Hainault, who had mounted on it a knight of his, called ſir John de Fuſſelles, that bore his banner: which horſe ran off with him, and forced his way through the Engliſh army, and, when about to return, ſtumbled and fell into a ditch, and ſeverely wounded him: he would have been dead, if his page had not followed him round the battalions, and found him unable to riſe: he had not, however, any other hindrance than from his horſe; for the Engliſh did not quit the ranks that day to make priſoners. The page alighted, and raiſed him up; but he did not return the way he came, as he would have found it difficult from the crowd.

This battle, which was fought on the Saturday between la Broyes* and Crecy, was very murderous and cruel; and many gallant deeds of arms were performed, that were never known.

Towards evening, many knights and ſquires of the French had loſt their maſters: they wandered up and down the plain, attacking the Engliſh in ſmall parties: they were ſoon deſtroyed; for the Engliſh had determined that day to give no quarter, or hear of ranſom from any one.

Early in the day, ſome French, Germans, and Savoyards had broken through the archers of the prince's battalion, and had engaged with the men

* A village in Picardy, election of Mondidier.

at

at arms; upon which the ſecond battalion came to his aid, and it was time, for otherwiſe he would have been hard preſſed. The firſt diviſion, ſeeing the danger they were in, ſent a knight* in great haſte to the king of England, who was poſted upon an eminence, near a windmill. On the knight's arrival, he ſaid, 'Sir, the earl of Warwick, the lord Stafford, the lord Reginald Cobham, and the others who are about your ſon are vigorouſly attacked by the French; and they intreat that you would come to their aſſiſtance with your battalion, for, if their numbers ſhould increaſe, they fear he will have too much to do.'

The king replied: 'Is my ſon dead, unhorſed, or ſo badly wounded that he cannot ſupport himſelf?' 'Nothing of the ſort, thank God,' rejoined the knight; 'but he is in ſo hot an engagement that he has great need of your help.' The king anſwered, 'Now, ſir Thomas, return back to thoſe that ſent you, and tell them from me, not to ſend again for me this day, or expect that I ſhall come, let what will happen, as long as my ſon has life; and ſay, that I command them to let the boy win his ſpurs; for I am determined, if it pleaſe God, that all the glory and honor of this day ſhall be given to him, and to thoſe into whoſe care I have intruſted him.'

The knight returned to his lords, and related the king's anſwer, which mightily encouraged them,

* Sir Thomas Norwich.——MSS.

and made them repent they had ever ſent ſuch a meſſage.

It is a certain fact, that ſir Godfrey de Harcourt, who was in the prince's battalion, having been told by ſome of the Engliſh, that they had ſeen the banner of his brother engaged in the battle againſt him, was exceedingly anxious to ſave him; but he was too late, for he was left dead on the field, and ſo was the earl of Aumarle his nephew.

On the other hand, the earls of Alençon and of Flanders were fighting luſtily under their banners, and with their own people; but they could not reſiſt the force of the Engliſh, and were there ſlain, as well as many other knights and ſquires that were attending on or accompanying them.

The earl of Blois, nephew to the king of France, and the duke of Lorraine his brother-in-law, with their troops, made a gallant defence; but they were ſurrounded by a troop of Engliſh and Welch, and ſlain in ſpite of their proweſs. The earl of St. Pol and the earl of Auxerre were alſo killed, as well as many others.

Late after veſpers, the king of France had not more about him than ſixty men, every one included. Sir John of Hainault, who was of the number, had once remounted the king; for his horſe had been killed under him by an arrow: he ſaid to the king, 'Sir, retreat whilſt you have an opportunity, and do not expoſe yourſelf ſo ſimply: if you have loſt this battle, another time you will be the conqueror.' After he had ſaid this, he took the

the bridle of the king's horſe, and led him off by force; for he had before intreated of him to retire.

The king rode on, until he came to the caſtle of la Broyes, where he found the gates ſhut, for it was very dark. The king ordered the governor of it to be ſummoned: he came upon the battlements, and aſked who it was that called at ſuch an hour? The king anſwered, 'Open, open, governor; it is the fortune of France.' The governor, hearing the king's voice, immediately deſcended, opened the gate, and let down the bridge. The king and his company entered the caſtle; but he had only with him five barons, ſir John of Hainault, the lord Charles of Montmorency, the lord of Beaujeu, the lord of Aubigny, and the lord of Montfort.

The king would not bury himſelf in ſuch a place as that, but, having taken ſome refreſhments, ſet out again with his attendants about midnight, and rode on, under the direction of guides who were well acquainted with the country, until, about day-break, he came to Amiens, where he halted.

This Saturday the Engliſh never quitted their ranks in purſuit of any one, but remained on the field, guarding their poſition, and defending themſelves againſt all who attacked them. The battle was ended at the hour of veſpers.

CHAP. CXXIX.

THE ENGLISH ON THE MORROW, AGAIN DEFEAT THE FRENCH.

WHEN, on this Saturday night, the Engliſh heard no more hooting or ſhouting, nor any more crying out to particular lords, or their banners, they looked upon the field as their own, and their enemies as beaten.

They made great fires, and lighted torches becauſe of the obſcurity of the night. King Edward then came down from his poſt, who all that day had not put on his helmet, and, with his whole battalion, advanced to the prince of Wales, whom he embraced in his arms and kiſſed, and ſaid, 'Sweet ſon, God give you good perſeverance: you are my ſon, for moſt loyally have you acquitted yourſelf this day: you are worthy to be a ſovereign.' The prince bowed down very low, and humbled himſelf, giving all honour to the king his father.

The Engliſh, during the night, made frequent thankſgivings to the Lord, for the happy iſſue of the day, and without rioting; for the king had forbidden all riot or noiſe.

On the Sunday morning, there was ſo great a fog that one could ſcarcely ſee the diſtance of half an acre. The king ordered a detachment from the army, under the command of the two marſhals, conſiſting of about five hundred lances and two thouſand archers, to make an excurſion, and ſee

if there were any bodies of French collected together.

The quota of troops, from Rouen and Beauvais, had, this Sunday morning, left Abbeville and St. Ricquier in Ponthieu, to join the French army, and were ignorant of the defeat of the preceding evening: they met this detachment, and, thinking they muſt be French, haſtened to join them.

As ſoon as the Engliſh found who they were, they fell upon them; and there was a ſharp engagement; but the French ſoon turned their backs, and fled in great diſorder. There were ſlain in this flight in the open fields, under hedges and buſhes, upwards of ſeven thouſand; and had it been clear weather, not one ſoul would have eſcaped.

A little time afterwards, this ſame party fell in with the archbiſhop of Rouen and the great prior of France, who were alſo ignorant of the diſcomfiture of the French; for they had been informed that the king was not to fight before Sunday. Here began a freſh batt'e; for thoſe two lords were well attended by good men at arms: however, they could not withſtand the Engliſh, but were almoſt all ſlain, with the two chiefs who commanded them; very few eſcaping.

In the courſe of the morning, the Engliſh found many Frenchmen who had loſt their road on the Saturday, and had lain in the open fields, not knowing what was become of the king, or their own leaders. The Engliſh put to the ſword all they met: and it has been aſſured to me for fact, that of foot ſoldiers, ſent from the cities, towns and municipalities,

palities, there were ſlain, this Sunday morning, four times as many as in the battle of the Saturday.

CHAP. CXXX.

THE ENGLISH NUMBER THE DEAD SLAIN AT THE BATTLE OF CRECY.

THIS detachment, which had been ſent to look after the French, returned as the king was coming from maſs, and related to him all that they had ſeen and met with. After he had been aſſured by them that there was not any appearance of the French collecting another army, he ſent to have the numbers and condition of the dead examined.

He ordered on this buſineſs, lord Reginald Cobham, lord Stafford, and three heralds to examine their arms*, and two ſecretaries to write down all the names. They took much pains to examine all the dead, and were the whole day in the field of battle, not returning but juſt as the king was ſitting down to ſupper. They made to him a very circumſtantial report of all they had obſerved, and ſaid, they had found eighty banners, the bodies of eleven princes, twelve hundred knights, and about thirty thouſand common men.

The Engliſh halted there that day, and on the Monday morning prepared to march off. The king

* In thoſe days, knights, or perſons of note, wore over their armour a ſurcoat, having their arms blazoned upon it. This may be ſeen in any old paintings of that age.

ordered

ordered the bodies of the principal knights to be taken from the ground, and carried to the monaſtery of Montenay, which was hard by, there to be interred in conſecrated ground. He had it proclaimed in the neighbourhood, that he ſhould grant a truce for three days, in order that the dead might be buried. He then marched on, paſſing by Montreuil-ſur-mer*.

His marſhals made an excurſion as far as Heſdin†, and burnt Vaubain and Serain; but they could make nothing of the caſtle, as it was too ſtrong and well guarded. They lay that Monday night, upon the banks of the Canche, near Blangy. The next day, they rode towards Boulogne, and burnt the towns of St. Joſſe and Neufchâtel‡: they did the ſame to Eſtaples, in the country of the Boulonois.

The whole army paſſed through the foreſt of Hardelou, and the country of the Boulonois, and came to the large town of Wiſant, where the king, prince, and all the Engliſh lodged; and, having refreſhed themſelves there one whole day, they came, on the Thurſday, before the ſtrong town of Calais.

* In Picardy, dioceſe of Amiens.

† In Artois, ſituated on the Canche, dioceſe of Arras.

‡ Villages in Picardy.

CHAP.

CHAP. CXXXI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND LAYS SIEGE TO CALAIS,—THE POORER SORT OF THE INHABITANTS ARE SENT OUT OF IT.

A BURGUNDY knight, named ſir John de Vienne, was governor of Calais; and with him were ſir Arnold d'Andreghen, ſir John de Surie, ſir Bardo de Bellebourne, ſir Geoffry de la Motte, ſir Pepin de Were, and many other knights and ſquires.

On the king's arrival before Calais, he laid ſiege to it, and built, between it and the river and bridge, houſes of wood: they were laid out in ſtreets, and thatched with ſtraw or broom; and in this town of the king's, there was every thing neceſſary for an army, beſides a market-place, where there were markets, every Wedneſday and Saturday, for butcher's meat, and all other ſorts of merchandiſe: cloth, bread and every thing elſe which came from England, and Flanders, might be had there, as well as all comforts, for money.

The Engliſh made frequent excurſions to Guines* and its neighbourhood, and to the gates of St. Omer and Boulogne, from whence they brought great booties back to the army.

The king made no attacks upon the town, as he knew it would be only loſt labour; and he was

* In Picardy, two leagues and a half from Calais. It was in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh above two hundred years.

ſparing

ſparing of his men and artillery; but ſaid, he would remain there ſo long that he would ſtarve the town into a ſurrender, unleſs the king of France ſhould come there to raiſe the ſiege.

When the governor of Calais ſaw the preparations of the king of England, he collected together all the poor inhabitants, who had not laid in any ſtore of proviſions, and, one Wedneſday morning, ſent upwards of ſeventeen hundred men, women and children, out of the town.

As they were paſſing through the Engliſh army, they aſked them, why they had left the town? They replied, Becauſe they had nothing to eat. The king, upon this, allowed them to paſs through in ſafety, ordered them a hearty dinner, and gave to each two ſterlings, as charity and alms, for which many of them prayed earneſtly for the king.

CHAP. CXXXII.

THE DUKE OF NORMANDY RAISES THE SIEGE OF AIGUILLON.

THE duke of Normandy, whom we left before Aiguillon, which he was beſieging, and ſir Walter Manny and the other knights who were within it, made, about the middle of Auguſt, a ſkirmiſh before the caſtle, which increaſed ſo much that almoſt his whole army was engaged in it. Near about this time, the lord Philip of Burgundy, earl of Artois and of Boulogne, and couſin-german to the duke, arrived. He was a very young knight:

as

as ſoon as this ſkirmiſh commenced, he armed himſelf, and, mounting a handſome ſteed, ſtuck ſpurs into him, in order to haſten to the combat; but the horſe, taking the bit between his teeth, ran off with him, and, in croſſing a ditch, fell into it upon the knight, who was ſo grievouſly bruiſed that he never recovered, and in a ſhort time died.

Soon afterwards, the king of France ſent to his ſon, the duke of Normandy, to lay all other things aſide, and raiſe the ſiege, in order to return directly into France, to defend his inheritance againſt the Engliſh.

The duke, upon this, demanded advice from the earls and barons there preſent; for he had vowed he would never move from thence until he had the caſtle, and all within it, in his power: but they aſſured him, that ſince the king, his father, had ſo expreſsly ordered him to return, he might comply without any forfeiture of his honour. On the morrow, at break of day, therefore, the French decamped, and, truſſing up tents and baggage with great haſte, took the road for France.

The knights who were in Aiguillon, ſeeing this, armed themſelves, and mounting their horſes, ſallied forth, the pennon of ſir Walter Manny taking the lead, fell upon the French, who were ſcarcely all marched off, cut down and ſlew numbers, and took upwards of forty priſoners, whom they brought back to the caſtle. From them they learnt the ſucceſsful campaign the king of England had made in France, and that at preſent he was laying ſiege to Calais.

Before

Before the king of France left Amiens, after the battle of Crecy, to go for Paris, he was ſo much enraged againſt ſir Godèmar du Fay, for not having done his duty in defending the ford of Blanchetaque, by which means the Engliſh had entered Ponthieu, that he had determined to hang him; to which many of his council alſo were inclined, for they were deſirous that ſir Godèmar ſhould make ſome amends; by his death, for the defeat the king had ſuffered at Crecy, and called him traitor; but ſir John of Hainault excuſed him, and averted the king's anger, by ſaying that it would have been difficult for him to have reſiſted the Engliſh army, when all the flower of the French nobility united, could do nothing.

Soon after this, the duke of Normandy arrived in France, where he was joyfully received by his parents, the king and queen.

CHAP. CXXXIII.

SIR WALTER MANNY, BY MEANS OF A PASSPORT, RIDES THROUGH FRANCE, FROM AIGUILLON TO CALAIS.

ABOUT this time, ſir Walter Manny had a converſation with a great knight from Normandy, whom he detained as his priſoner, and aſked him, What ſum he was willing to pay for his ranſom? The knight replied, 'Three thouſand crowns.' Upon this, ſir Walter ſaid: 'I know you are related to the duke of Normandy, much beloved by

him, and one of his privy counſellors. I will let you free upon your honour, if you will go to the duke, and obtain from him a paſſport for myſelf and twenty others, that we may ride through France, as far as Calais, paying courteouſly for whatever we may want: if, therefore, you obtain this from the king, I ſhall hold you free from your ranſom, and alſo be much obliged to you; for I have a great deſire to ſee the king of England, and will not remain in any town more than one night. If you cannot accompliſh it, you will return in a month to this fortreſs, as to your priſon.'

The knight ſet out for Paris, and, having obtained from the duke the paſſport, returned with it to ſir Walter at Aiguillon, who acquitted him of his ranſom.

Sir Walter, ſhortly afterward, ſet out with twenty horſe, and took his road through Auvergne. He told every where who he was, and, at every place he ſtopped, ſhewed his paſſport, and was directly ſet at liberty; but at Orleans he was arreſted, although he ſhewed his papers, and from thence conducted to Paris, where he was confined in the priſon of the Châtelet.

When the duke of Normandy heard of it, he went immediately to the king, and remonſtrated with him on the ſubject, becauſe ſir Walter Manny had had his paſſport through his means, and demanded that he ſhould, as ſoon as poſſible, be ſet at liberty; otherwiſe it would be ſaid that he had betrayed him. The king anſwered, that he intended putting him to death, for he looked upon him

him as one of his greateſt enemies. Upon which, the duke ſaid, that if he put his intentions in execution, he would never bear arms againſt the king of England, and would prevent all thoſe dependant on him from doing the ſame. Very high words paſſed between them; and he left the king, declaring he would never ſerve in any of his armies, ſo long as Walter Manny ſhould remain in priſon.

Things remained in this ſituation a long time. There was a knight from Hainault, named ſir Manfart d'Aiſnes, who was eager to ſerve ſir Walter, but had great difficulty in getting acceſs to the duke of Normandy: however, at laſt the king was adviſed to let ſir Walter out of priſon, and to pay him all his expenſes. The king would have ſir Walter to dine with him in the hôtel de Neſle at Paris; when he preſented him with gifts and jewels to the amount of a thouſand florins.

Sir Walter accepted them, upon condition, that when he got to Calais he ſhould inform the king, his lord, of it; and if it were agreeable to his pleaſure, he would keep them, otherwiſe he would ſend them back.

The king and duke ſaid, that he had ſpoken like a loyal knight.

Sir Walter then took leave of them, rode on by eaſy days journeys to Hainault, and remained, to refreſh himſelf, three days in Valenciennes.

He arrived at Calais, where he was well received by the king of England, who, upon being informed by ſir Walter of the preſents he had had from the king of France, ſaid, 'Sir Walter, you have hitherto

moſt loyally ſerved us, and we hope you will continue to do ſo; ſend back to king Philip his preſents, for you have no right to keep them: we have enough, thank God, for you and for ourſelves, and are perfectly well diſpoſed to do you all the good in our power, for the ſervices you have rendered us.'

Sir Walter took out all the jewels, and, giving them to his couſin, the lord of Manſac, ſaid, 'Ride into France, to king Philip, and recommend me to him; and tell him, that I thank him many times for the fine jewels he preſented me with, but that it is not agreeable to the will and pleaſure of the king of England, my lord, that I retain them.' The knight did as he was commanded; but the king of France would not take back the jewels: he gave them to the lord of Manſac, who thanked the king for them, and had no inclination to refuſe them.

CHAP. CXXXIV.

THE EARL OF DERBY TAKES MANY TOWNS AND CASTLES IN POITOU, AND THE CITY OF POITIERS.

IT has been before mentioned, that the earl of Derby had remained in the city of Bourdeaux, during the ſiege of Aiguillon. As ſoon as he was informed that the duke of Normandy had raiſed the ſiege, he iſſued out his ſummons to all knights and ſquires in Gaſcony that were attached to the Engliſh.

Engliſh. In obedience to which, there came to Bourdeaux the lords d'Albret, de l'Eſparre, de Roſem, de Mucidan, de Pumiers, de Courton, de Bouqueton, ſir Aymery de Traſte, and many others. The earl collected twelve hundred men at arms, two thouſand archers, and three thouſand infantry. With theſe he croſſed the Garonne, between Bourdeaux and Blayes, and took the road for Saintonge. He firſt came before Mirabeau*, which he took by aſſault, as well as the caſtle; and, having placed therein a garriſon of his own men, rode on to Aulnay†, which he alſo took and its caſtle, and then Benon‡ and Surgeres§: but they could make nothing of the caſtle of Marans‖, which is about three leagues from la Rochelle: they puſhed on, therefore, to Mortaigne-ſur-mer, in Poitou, which they took and re-garriſoned. They then advanced to Luſignan¶, and burnt the town, but could not gain the caſtle. They next marched to Taillebourg**, and, having conquered the bridge, town and caſtle, put all the inhabitants to the ſword, becauſe they had, in the aſſault, killed a valiant knight.

The whole country was ſo much alarmed, that they fled before the Engliſh, leaving their houſes

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* A town in Poitou, dioceſe of Poitiers.
† A town in Poitou.
‡ A town in Ancenis.
§ A town in Ancenis.
‖ A town in Ancenis.
¶ A town in Poitou.
** A town in Saintonge; three leagues from Saintes.

empty and defenceleſs to ſhut themſelves up in the fortified towns. There was not any appearance of oppoſition from the knights and ſquires of Saintonge, who had retired to their fortreſſes, without making any effort to combat the Engliſh.

The earl of Derby at laſt came before the town of St. Jean d'Angely*, and immediately began an attack upon it. There were not in the town any men at arms; and at veſpers, when the attack was nearly ended, ſir William de Rion, mayor of the town, and the principal inhabitants, ſent to demand paſſports for ſix of the citizens to come and treat with the earl: it was granted them for that night, and the whole of the next day. On the morrow, theſe citizens came to the earl in his tent, and ſwore to be good Engliſhmen as long as the king of England, or any one from him, would keep them in peace from the French. The earl refreſhed himſelf in the town for four days, and received the homage of the inhabitants: he then advanced to Niort†, of which ſir Guiſcard d'Angle was governor. He made three attacks upon it; but not gaining any thing, he paſſed on, and came to the village of St. Maximien, which he took by ſtorm, and ſlew all that were within it. He next marched to Montreuil Bonin‡, where there were upwards of two hundred coiners, who were minting money for the king of France, and who declared that they

* In Saintonge, dioceſe of Saintes.

† A city in Poitou, nineteen leagues from Poitiers.

‡ A town in Poitou, three leagues from Poitiers.

would not obey the ſummons of the earl: but there was ſo ſharp an aſſault made on it, that the town was taken, and all within put to death. The earl placed a new garriſon in the caſtle, and advanced to Poitiers, which is a large ſtraggling city: he could only therefore lay ſiege to it on one ſide; for he had not forces ſufficient to ſurround it. He immediately made an aſſault; but the townſmen of the poorer ſort were ſo numerous, though little prepared for ſuch an attack, and defended the town ſo well, that the earl's people gained nothing: they retired to their quarters much fatigued.

On the morrow, ſome of the earl's knights armed themſelves, rode round the town, and afterwards made their report to him of what they had ſeen and heard. There was then a council held; and it was reſolved to attack the town, in three different places at once, the next day, and to poſt the greater number of the men at arms and archers at the weakeſt part; which was executed.

It happened, that at that time there was not any gallant knight in the town, who knew what deeds of arms were; nor were they provided with any accuſtomed to wars, that might adviſe them how properly to defend themſelves. The earl's people, therefore, at this aſſault, entered the town at the weakeſt part: and, when thoſe within ſaw themſelves thus conquered, they fled for the faſteſt out of the other gates, for there were many. Upwards of ſeven hundred were ſlain; for the earl's people put every one to the ſword, men, women and little children. The city was inſtantly plundered, and

was full of wealth, as well of its own inhabitants, as of thoſe in the neighbourhood, who had retired into it as to a place of ſafety. The army deſtroyed many churches, committed great waſte, and would have done much more, if the earl had not forbidden, under pain of death, that either church or houſe ſhould be ſet on fire; for he was deſirous of remaining there ten or twelve days. Part of the diſorders were ſtopped, but much thieving ſtill continued.

The earl remained in the city twelve days: he might have ſtaid longer, had he choſen it, for no one came to oppoſe him, and the whole country trembled: none dared to ſhew themſelves out of their ſtrong garriſons. He left Poitiers empty, for its ſize rendered it untenable. The army, at its departure, was ſo laden with the riches they had found there, that they made no account of cloths, unleſs they were of gold or ſilver, or trimmed with furs. They returned by eaſy marches, to St. Jean d'Angely, where they remained for ſome time. The earl, during his ſtay, made handſome preſents to the ladies and damſels of the town, and almoſt every day gave them grand dinners or ſuppers. He enlivened them ſo much that he acquired great popularity: and they publicly ſaid, he was the moſt noble prince that ever mounted ſteed. On his taking leave of them, he made the mayor and principal citizens renew their oath, that they would keep and defend the town, as the legal inheritance of the king of England. The earl then rode on, with his whole army, to Bourdeaux, paſſing by the fortreſſes

fortreſſes he had conquered, when he diſmiſſed his troops, and gave them many thanks for the ſervices they had done.

CHAP. CXXXV.

THE KING OF SCOTLAND, DURING THE SIEGE OF CALAIS, INVADES ENGLAND.

I HAVE been ſilent ſome time reſpecting the king of Scotland; but until this moment I have not had any thing worth relating of him; for, as I have before ſaid, mutual truces had been granted between him and the king of England, which had not been infringed.

During the time the king of England was carrying on the ſiege of Calais, the Scots determined to make war upon him, thinking it a good opportunity to be revenged for the many diſaſters he had brought on them. England had at that time very few men at arms, as the king had a great number with him before Calais, as well as in his other armies in Brittany, Poitou, and Gaſcony.

The king of France took great pains to foment this war, in order that the Engliſh might have ſo much to employ themſelves at home as would oblige them to raiſe the ſiege of Calais, and return to England.

King David iſſued his ſummons for a parliament to be holden at Perth; which was attended by the earls, prelates and barons of Scotland, who were unanimous for invading England as ſpeedily as poſſible.

Raynald,

Raynald, lord of the iſles, who governed the wild Scots, and whom alone they obeyed, was ſent to, and intreated to attend the Parliament. He complied with the requeſt, and brought three thouſand of the wildeſt of his countrymen with him.

When all the Scots were aſſembled, they amounted together to about forty thouſand combatants: but they could not make their preparations ſo ſecretly as to prevent news of it coming to the knowledge of the queen of England, who had taken up her reſidence in the north, near the borders. She wrote, and ſent ſummons to all that were attached to the king of England to come to York by a certain day. Many men at arms and archers, who had remained at home, put themſelves in motion, and advanced to Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne, which the queen had appointed as the final place of rendezvous.

In the mean while, the Scots ſet out from Perth, and advanced the firſt day to Dunfermline: the next day, they croſſed a ſmall arm of the ſea; but the king went to Stirling, croſſed the water there on the morrow, and came to Edinburgh. Here they halted and numbered their men. There were full three thouſand knights and ſquires, well armed, and thirty thouſand others, mounted on galloways.

They marched to Roxburgh, the firſt fortreſs belonging to the Engliſh in their road, under the command of the lord William Montacute, who had lately erected it againſt the Scots. This caſtle is handſome, and very ſtrong; the Scots, therefore, paſſed on, without attacking it, and took up their quarters

quarters on the banks of a river*, between Precy and Lincolle: whence they began to deſtroy and burn the country of Cumberland. Some of their ſcouts advanced as far as York, where they burnt all without the walls and down the river, and returned to their army, within one day's march of Newcaſtle.

CHAP. CXXXVI.

THE BATTLE OF NEVIL'S CROSS.

THE queen of England, who was very anxious to defend her kingdom, and guard it from all diſturbers, in order to ſhew that ſhe was in earneſt about it, came herſelf to Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne. She took up her reſidence there, to wait for the forces ſhe expected from the different parts of the kingdom.

* Probably the river was the Irthing, and the towns Lidel and Lanercroſt; for lord Hailes ſays, in his Annals, that 'David ſtormed the caſtle of Lidel, and beheaded Walter Selby, the governor. Selby, according to the uſage of thoſe looſe times, ſeems to have been both a robber and a warrior, alternately plundering and defending his country.'

'He was one of the band of robbers ſo famous in Engliſh ſtory, who, under their leader, Gilbert Middleton, robbed two cardinals and the biſhop of Durham. He afterwards held out the caſtles of Mitford and Horton againſt his ſovereign.'—*Scala Chron. ap. Leland*, T. i. p. 561.

Yet Packington, apud Leland, T. i. p. 470, ſays, 'David, king of Scottes cauſed the *noble knight* Walter Selby, capitayne of the Pyle of Lydelle, to be ſlayne afore his owne face, not ſuffering him ſo much as to be confeſſed.'

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The Scots, who were informed that Newcaſtle was the place of rendezvous of the Engliſh army, advanced thither, and ſent their van-guard to ſkirmiſh near the town; who, on their return, burnt ſome hamlets adjoining to it. The ſmoke and flames came into the town, which made the Engliſh impatient to ſally out upon thoſe who had done this miſchief, but their leaders would not permit them.

On the morrow, the king of Scotland, with full forty thouſand men, including all ſorts, advanced within three ſhort Engliſh miles of Newcaſtle, and took up his quarters on the land of the lord Neville. He ſent to inform the army in the town, that, if they were willing to come forth, he would wait for them and give them battle.

The barons and prelates of England ſent for anſwer, that they accepted his offer, and would riſk their lives with the realm of their lord and king. They ſallied out in number about twelve hundred men at arms, three thouſand archers, and ſeven thouſand other men, including the Welch. The Scots poſted themſelves oppoſite to the Engliſh; and each army was drawn out in battle array.

The queen of England then came to the place where her army was, and remained until it was drawn out in four battalions. The firſt was under the command of the biſhop of Durham, and the lord Percy: the ſecond, under the archbiſhop of York and the lord Neville: the third, under the biſhop of Lincoln and the lord Mowbray: the fourth was commanded by the lord Baliol, governor of Berwick,

wick, the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the lord Roos. Each battalion had its juſt proportion of men at arms and archers, as was expedient. The queen now advanced among them, and entreated them to do their duty well, in defending the honor of their lord and king, and urged them, for the love of God, to fight manfully. They promiſed her that they would acquit themſelves loyally, to the utmoſt of their power, and perhaps better than if the king had been there in perſon. The queen then took her leave, and recommended them to the protection of God and St. George.

The two armies were ſoon after in motion, and the archers on each ſide began to ſhoot; but thoſe of the Scots did not long contiuue it, whilſt the Engliſh ſhot inceſſantly. When the battalions were got into cloſe combat, the engagement was ſharp, and well fought.

The battle began about nine o'clock, and laſted until noon. The Scots had very hard and ſharp axes*, with which they dealt deadly blows; but at laſt the Engliſh gained the field, though it coſt them dear by the loſs of their men. On the part of the Scots, there fell in the field, the earl of Sys, the earl Doſtre, the earl Patris†, the earl of Furlant‡, the earl Daſtredure, the earl of Mar, the earl John Douglas§, ſir Alexander Ramſay, who bore the

* Q. Lochaber axes.
† Probably Patrick earl of Dunbar.
‡ Q. Sutherland.
§ No *earl* Douglas at that period.

king's

king's banners, and many other barons, knights and ſquires*.

The king of Scotland was taken priſoner, fighting moſt gallantly, and badly wounded, before he was

* 'Knyghton is the hiſtorian who has given the moſt ample liſt of the killed at the battle of Durham; yet it is, in various particulars, erroneous; and it has been ſtrangely disfigured by the miſtakes of tranſcribers. Knyghton has afforded the ground-work of the following liſt; and care has been taken to correct his errors, whenever they could be detected. This was the more neceſſary, becauſe our writers ſeem to have deſpaired of being able to correct the liſt, and have left many names as erroneous as they found them. Thus, Abercrombie has *Humphry de Blois* and *Robert Maltalent*; and to conceal his ignorance, he affirms them to have been Frenchmen. He has alſo *David Banant* and *Nicholas Clopodolian*, names for which he has not ventured to account. Some additions have been procured from Fordun, although his liſt is not ſo full as that in Knyghton. Theſe additions are marked F.

'It is impoſſible to give a correct liſt of all the priſoners of diſtinction taken at Durham; for it appears, that many perſons privately took ranſoms for the priſoners whom they had made, and ſuffered them to depart. This practice became ſo general, that it was prohibited under pain of death [20th November, and 13th December, 1346].

'Moſt of the priſoners of diſtinction, who had not eſcaped by means of this connivance, were ordered to be conveyed to the tower of London [8th December, 1346]. From that inſtrument, and from ſome other ſcattered notices, I have drawn up a liſt of priſoners, not ſo complete, indeed, as might have been wiſhed, yet more authentic and intelligible than any that has been hitherto exhibited.

'KILLED.

'John Randolph, earl of Moray,—the younger ſon of Randolph the regent. With him the male line of that heroic family

was captured by a ſquire of Northumberland, named John Copeland, who, as ſoon as he got him, puſhed

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mily ended. He was ſucceeded in his honors and eſtate by his ſiſter, the counteſs of March, vulgarly termed *Black Agnes.*

' Maurice Moray, earl of Strathern,—in right of his mother Mary. The Engliſh, in general, did not acknowledge his title. Knyghton mentions him again under the name of *Maurice de Murref.*

' David de laye Haye, conſtable, F.—Knyghton mentions his name, but without his title of office.

' Robert Keith, marſhal, F.—grandſon of ſir Robert Keith.

' Robert de Peebles, chamberlain, F.—There is conſiderable uncertainty as to this name.

' Thomas Charters, chancellor, F.—De Carnuto. A name of great antiquity in Scotland. See Crawfurd, Officers of State, p. 19.

' Humphry de Boys.—Knyghton and his copyiſts ſay, *de Bloys*, probably *Boys*, the ſame with *Boyse, Boece.*

' John de Bonneville, F.

' Thomas Boyd.—This is a miſtake in Knyghton, unleſs there were two perſons of that name; for there was a Thomas Boyd among the priſoners.

' Andrew Buttergaſk, F.—This family ſubſiſted until about the beginning of the 15th century, when the heireſs, Margaret Buttergaſk of that ilk, made over her eſtate to the family of Gray.

' Roger Cameron.

' John de Crawfurd.

' William Fraſer, F.—of Cowie; anceſtor of lord Salton.

' David Fitz-Robert—Probably ſome perſon who had not as yet aſſumed a ſurname.

' William de Haliburton.—Fordun ſays *Walter*, but there is a Walter de Haliburton among the priſoners.

' William de la Haye.

' Gilbert

puſhed through the crowd, and, with eight other companions, rode off, and never ſtopped until he was

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'Gilbert de Inchmartin, F.

'Edward de Keith.

'Edmunde de Keith.—According to Knyghton, the brother of Edward de Keith.

'Reginald Kirkpatrick.

'David de Lindeſay,—ſaid by Fordun, to have been 'the ſon and heir of lord David de Lindeſay,' anceſtor of the earls of Crawfurd and Balcarras.

'John de Lindeſay.

'Robert Maitland,—called *Mantalent* by Knyghton: from whence Abercrombie formed '*Maltalent*, a French knight:' plainly *Matulent*, now *Maitland*, of Thirleſtane, anceſtor of the earl of Lauderdale.

'——— Maitland,—the brother of Robert Maitland of Thirleſtane.

'Philip de Meldrum,—called *de Mildron* by Knyghton.

'John de la More.

'Adam Moygrave.

'William Moubray.—There was a William Mowbray among the priſoners.

'William de Ramſay, the father.—A William de Ramſay, probably *the younger*, was among the priſoners.

'Michael Scot, F.—of Murthockſtone, now Murdieſton, anceſtor of the duke of Buccleugh.

'John St. Clair.—There was a John St. Clair among the priſoners.

'Alexander Strachan,—called *Straggy* by Knyghton.

'——— Strachan, the brother of Alexander Strachan.

'John Stewart.

'John Stewart.—I conjecture that ſir John Stewart of Dreghorn is meant, whoſe father Alan was killed at Halidon.

'Alan Stewart, the brother of John Stewart.

'Adam de Whitſom.—Knyghton has *Adam de Nyston*, which is

was diſtant from the field of battle about fifteen miles. He came about veſpers, to Ogle caſtle, on the

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is plainly an error in tranſcribing. Perhaps *de Dennistoun* is the right name. Knyghton reckons *Patonus Heryng*, i. *Patricius Heron*, among the ſlain. It appears from Fœdera, that he was a priſoner. Knyghton alſo reckons *the earl of Sutherland* among the ſlain, Fordun among the priſoners. It is certain that he was not killed; and, if he were made priſoner, he muſt have been among thoſe who were ſuffered to eſcape immediately after the battle.

'PRISONERS.

'David II. king of Scots.—He received two wounds before he yielded himſelf a priſoner.

'Duncan earl of Fife.—He had ſworn fealty to Baliol. He was condemned to ſuffer death as a traitor, but obtained mercy.

'John Graham, earl of Menteth,—in right of his wife Mary, according to the mode of thoſe times: he was executed as a traitor. He had formerly ſworn fealty to Edward III.

'Malcolm Fleming, earl of Wigton.—He is called *Malcolm Fleming*, without any addition; Fœdera, T. v. p. 537. He had a grant of the earldom of Wigton in 1342. See Crawfurd, Peerage, p. 493. But the Engliſh government did not acknowledge the right of David II. to confer titles of honor. It is probable that he made his eſcape; for, in Calenders of Antient Charters, p. 203, there is this title, 'de capiendo Robertum Bertram, qui Malcolmum Fleming, Scotum, inimicum, regis, evadere permiſit.'

'George Abernethy,—of Salton, anceſtor of lord Salton.

'David de Annand.

'William Baillie,—ſuppoſed to be Baillie of Lambiſtoun or Lambintoun, vulgarly Lamington; Niſbet, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 137. But ſee ſir James Dalrymple, p. 410.

'Thomas Boyd,—probably of Kilmarnock. The ſon of that Boyd who was the faithful and fortunate companion of Robert Bruce.

the river Blythe, and there declared that he would not ſurrender his priſoner, the king of Scotland, to man

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' Andrew Campbell,—of Loudoun. In right of his mother, Suſanna Crawfurd, heritable ſheriff of Airſhire, anceſtor of the earl of Loudoun.

' Gilbert de Carrick,—anceſtor of the earl of Daſſilis. His ſon aſſumed the name of Kennedy.

' Robert Chiſholm.

' Nicholas Knockdolian,—called *Clopdolian* by Knyghton, and by Abercrombie *Clopodolian*, in Galloway, although the name has a German air.

' Fergus de Crawfurd.—Roger de Crawfurd.

' Bartholomew de Dermond,—a German, as the record in Fœdera bears. This is mentioned, becauſe Abercrombie, vol. ii. p. 99, ſays, ' perhaps *Drummond*,' although he had peruſed Fœdera.

' John Douglas,—probably the younger brother of William Douglas of Liddeſdale, anceſtor of the earl of Morton.

' William Douglas, the elder.—This perſon, I am confident, is William Douglas, the baſtard brother of William Douglas of Liddeſdale. There is no evidence that William lord Douglas, ſon of Archibald, ſurnamed *Tineman*, and firſt earl of that family, was made priſoner at Durham, or, indeed, that he was preſent at the battle. Fordun, L. xiv. c. 6, expreſsly ſays, that he did not come from France till after the battle. We learn from Fœdera, that he was at liberty while others were priſoners; and we do not learn from Fœdera, that he was ever a priſoner. To ſupport an erroneous hypotheſis of Boece, concerning William lord Douglas, records have been miſconſtructed and miſapplied.

' Patrick de Dunbar.—Adam de Fullarton.—John Giffard.—Laurence Gilibrand.

' David Graham,—of Montroſe; anceſtor of the duke of Montroſe.

' Alexander Haliburton,—John de Haliburton.—Douglas, Peerage, p. 321, conjectures, not improbably, that they were

man or woman except to his lord the king of England. That ſame day were taken priſoners, the earls of

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were the brothers of Walter de Haliburton. But he ought not to have referred to Fordun, v. ii. [L. xiv. c. 3.] in proof of this, for Fordun mentions them not.

' Walter de Haliburton,—predeceſſor of the lords Haliburton of Dirleton.

' Patrick Heron.—William de Jardin.

' Roger de Kirkpatrick.—Made priſoner by Ralph de Haſtings. Haſtings died of his wounds. He bequeathed the body of Roger de Kirkpatrick to his joint legatees, Edmund Haſtings of Kynthorp and John de Kirkeby; Fœdera, T. v. p. 535.

' Thomas de Lippes,—called, in Calendars of Antient Charters, *chevalier*. If he was not a foreigner, I know not who he was.

' William de Livingſton.

' ———Lorein,—ſaid, in the record, to have been the ſon of Euſtace Lorein. This Euſtace, called *Tassy* by Fordun, L. xiv. c. 5. was captain of Rokeſburgh under Douglas of Liddeſdale, the governor.

' Duncan M'Donnel.—Not in the liſt in Fœdera, T. v. p. 535, but mentioned as a priſoner, Fœdera, T. v. p. 554.

' Duncan M'Donnel.—See Fœdera, ib. the ſon of the former.

' ——— de Makepath.—Were it not for the particle *de*, I ſhould ſuppoſe that ſome perſon of the name of *M'Beth* was here underſtood.

' John de Maxwell,—of Carlaverock, anceſtor of the earl of Nithſdale.

' Walter Moine.—David Moray.—William de Moray.—William More —William Moubray.

' Patrick de Polwarth,—anceſtor of the earl of Marchmont.

' John de Preſton,—ſuppoſed to have been the anceſtor of Preſton lord Dingwall.

of Murray and March, lord William Douglas, lord Robert de Werfy, the biſhops of Aberdeen and St. Andrews, and many other barons and knights. There were about fifteen thouſand ſlain, and the remainder ſaved themſelves as well as they could. This battle was fought near Newcaſtle, in the year 1346, on a Saturday preceding Michaelmas day*.

CHAP. CXXXVII.

JOHN COPELAND TAKES THE KING OF SCOTLAND PRISONER, AND RECEIVES GREAT ADVANTAGES FROM IT.

WHEN the queen of England, who had remained in Newcaſtle, heard that her army had gained the day, ſhe mounted her palfrey, and went to the field of battle. She was informed that the king of Scotland had been made priſoner, by a ſquire of

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' Alexander de Ramſay.—Henry de Ramſay.—Neſs de Ramſay.

' William de Ramſay.—Probably Sir William Ramſay of Colluthy. He was at the battle of Poict'rs in 1356, and was made priſoner there.

' William de Salton.—Not in Fœdera; but mention is made of him, Calendar of Antient Charters, p. 199.

' John St. Clair.—Alexander Steel.—Alexander Stewart.

' John Stewart,—of Dalſwinton, as the record bears. Anceſtor of the earl of Galloway.

' John Stewart,—a baſtard, as the record bears.

' John de Valence.—William de Vaux.—Robert Wallace.'

Annals of Scotland, vol. ii. App. No. 6, p. 321, *et. seq.*

* It was on the 17th October.

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the name of John Copeland, but who had rode off with him they could not tell whither. The queen ordered him to be written to, to bring the king of Scots to her, and to tell him that he had not done what was agreeable to her, in carrying off his prisoner without leave. All that day the queen and army remained on the field of battle, which they had won, and on the morrow returned to Newcastle*.

When the letter from the queen was presented by a knight to John Copeland, he answered, that he would not give up his prisoner, the king of Scots, to man or woman, except to his own lord,

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* 'Froissart supposes that Philippa, the consort of Edward III., was their leader; and in this he has been implicitly followed by the later historians of both nations. A young and comely princess, the mother of heroes, at the head of an army in the absence of her lord, is an ornament to history: yet no English writer of considerable antiquity mentions this circumstance, which, if true, they would not have omitted. Baliol also is said to have been next in command to queen Philippa: yet the ancient English writers say nothing of it; and the whole strain of the Fœdera is inconsistent with the hypothesis of his having any such command. Barnes, page 398, says, that the English 'were in number twelve hundred men at arms, three thousand archers, and seven thousand footmen, besides a choice band of expert soldiers, newly come from before Calais; the whole amounting to sixteen thousand complete.' For this he quotes Giovanni Villani, the Florentine historian, lib. xii. c. 75. Villani's account of the battle of Durham is exceedingly superficial; and, which is remarkable, he says nothing of what Barnes quotes as from him. See Muratori Scrip. Ital. T. xiii. p. 959.'

Annals of Scotland.

the king of England: that they might depend on his taking proper care of him; and he would be anſwerable for guarding him well.

The queen, upon this, wrote letters to the king, which ſhe ſent off to Calais. She therein informed him of the ſtate of his kingdom.

The king then ordered John Copeland to come to him at Calais, who, having placed his priſoner under good guards, in a ſtrong caſtle on the borders of Northumberland, ſet out, and, paſſing through England, came to Dover, where he embarked, and landed near Calais.

When the king of England ſaw the ſquire, he took him by the hand, and ſaid, 'Ha, welcome my ſquire, who, by his valour, has captured my adverſary the king of Scotland.' John Copeland, falling on one knee, replied, 'If God, out of his great kindneſs, has given me the king of Scotland, and permitted me to conquer him in arms, no one ought to be jealous of it; for God can, when he pleaſes, ſend his grace to a poor ſquire, as well as to a great lord. Sir, do not take it amiſs, if I did not ſurrender him to the orders of my lady the queen; for I hold my lands of you, and my oath is to you, not to her, except it be through choice.' The king anſwered; 'John, the loyal ſervice you have done us, and our eſteem for your valour is ſo great, that it may well ſerve you as an excuſe; and ſhame fall upon all thoſe that bear you any ill will. You will now return home, and take your priſoner, the king of Scotland, and convey him to my wife: and, by way of remuneration, I aſſign lands, as near your houſe

houſe as you can chooſe them, to the amount of five hundred pounds ſterling a-year, for you and your heirs; and I retain you as a ſquire of my body and of my houſehold*.'

John Copeland left Calais the third day after his arrival, and retured to England: when he was come home, he aſſembled his friends and neighbours, and, in company with them, took the king of Scots, and conveyed him to York, where he preſented him, in the name of the king, to the queen, and made ſuch handſome excuſes that ſhe was ſatisfied.

When the queen had ſufficiently provided for the defence of the city of York, the caſtle of Roxburgh, the city of Durham, and the town of Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne, as well as for all the borders, and had appointed the lords Percy and Neville governors of Northumberland, to take proper care of it, ſhe ſet out from York and returned to London. She ordered the king of Scots, the earl of Murray, and the other priſoners to be confined in the tower of London, and, having placed a ſufficient guard

* 'Copeland was made a banneret, with a ſalary of 500l. yearly, to him and to his heirs, until lands of the like yearly amount ſhould be beſtowed on him. He obtained a penſion for life of 100l., under condition of furniſhing twenty men at arms. He was alſo made warden of Berwick. Beſides all this, it appears that he obtained the office of ſheriff of Northumberland, and keeper of Roxburgh caſtle. Robert de Bertram had a penſion of 200 marks, given to him and to his heirs, until the king ſhould provide him in lands of equal value, for his capture of the knight of Liddeſdale.'

Annals,—and *Fœdera*.

over them, ſet out for Dover, where ſhe embarked, and, with a favourable wind, arrived before Calais three days preceding the feaſt of All-ſaints*.

The king, upon her arrival, held a grand court, and ordered magnificent entertainments for all the lords who were there, but more eſpecially for the ladies; as the queen had brought a great many with her, who were glad to accompany her, in order to ſee fathers, brothers, and friends, that were engaged at this ſiege of Calais.

CHAP. CXXXVIII.

THE YOUNG EARL OF FLANDERS IS BETROTHED, THROUGH THE CONSTRAINT OF THE FLEMINGS, TO THE DAUGHTER OF THE KING OF ENGLAND. HE ESCAPES TO FRANCE IN A SUBTLE MANNER.

THE ſiege of Calais laſted a long time; during which many gallant feats of arms and adventures happened: but it is not poſſible for me to relate the fourth part of them: for the king of France had poſted ſo many men at arms in the fortreſſes, and on the borders of the counties of Guines, Artois, Boulogne, round to Calais, and had ſuch numbers of Genoeſe, Normans, and others

* Knyghton, p. 2592, relates, that, by command of Edward III. David Bruce was conducted to the tower, under an eſcort of 20,000 men, well armed: that the different companies of London, in their proper dreſſes, were preſent at the proceſſion; and that David Bruce rode on a tall *black* horſe, ſo as to be ſeen by all men.

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in veſſels on the ſea, that none of the Engliſh could venture abroad on horſeback or on foot, to forage, without meeting ſome of theſe parties: there were frequent ſkirmiſhes near the gates and ditches of the town, which never ended without ſeveral being killed and wounded: ſometimes one ſide gained the advantage, and ſometimes the other.

The king of England and his council ſtudied night and day, to invent engines more effectually to annoy the town: but the inhabitants were equally alert to deſtroy their effect, and exerted themſelves ſo much, that they ſuffered nothing from them. However, no proviſions could be brought into the place but by ſtealth, and by the means of two mariners, who were guides to ſuch as adventured: one was named Marant, and the other Meſtriel; both of them reſided in Abbeville. By their means, the town of Calais was frequently victualled; and by their boldneſs they were often in great danger, many times purſued and almoſt taken; but they eſcaped, and ſlew and wounded many of the Engliſh.

The ſiege laſted all the winter. The king had a great deſire to keep on good terms with the municipalities of Flanders, becauſe he thought that thro' them he ſhould the more eaſily obtain his end. He made, therefore, frequent proteſtations of friendſhip to them, and gave them to underſtand, that, after he ſhould have ſucceeded at Calais, he would re-conquer for them Liſle, Douay, and all their dependencies: ſo that the Flemings, believing in ſuch promiſes, put themſelves in motion, about the time that

that the king was in Normandy, whence he came to Crecy and Calais; and they laid ſiege to Bethune. They had choſen, for their commander, the lord Oudart de Renty, who had been baniſhed from France, and had cloſely beſieged the town, and much damaged it by their attacks: but there were within four knights for the king of France, who well defended it; their names were, ſir Geoffry de Chargny, the lord Euſtace de Ribeaumont, the lord Baudoin d'Anequin, and lord John de Landas.

The town of Bethune was ſo well defended, that the Flemings conquered nothing: they returned therefore to Flanders, not having been more ſucceſsful than before.

When the king of England was come to Calais, he did not ceaſe ſending flattering meſſengers, and promiſes, to the municipalities of Flanders, to preſerve their friendſhip, and leſſen their opinion of the king of France, who was taking great pains to acquire their affections. The king of England would have gladly ſeen the earl Lewis of Flanders, who at that time was but fifteen years old, married to his daughter Iſabella, and ſet ſo many engines to work among the Flemings that they acceded to it, which mightily rejoiced the king; for he imagined, that by this marriage he would eaſily govern that country.

The Flemings alſo thought, that this alliance would enable them more effectually to reſiſt the French; and that it would be more profitable to be connected with the king of England than with the king of France.

Their young earl, however, who had been educated with the royal family of France, and who at the time was in that kingdom, would not agree to it, and declared frankly, that he would never take to wife, the daughter of him who had ſlain his father.

On the other hand, duke John of Brabant was very eagerly trying to make a match between the earl and his daughter, and promiſed to obtain for him the full enjoyment of Flanders, by fair or foul means. The duke alſo gave the king of France to underſtand, that, if the marriage took place, he would manage the Flemings, that they ſhould attach themſelves to him, in preference to the king of England. Upon the ſtrength of theſe promiſes, the king of France conſented to the marriage of the earl of Flanders with the duke of Brabant's daughter. After the duke had obtained this conſent, he ſent meſſengers to all the principal citizens of the great towns in Flanders, who coloured the union with ſo many ſpecious reaſons, that the councils of the principal towns ſent to the earl, and informed him that if he would come to Flanders, and follow their advice, they would be his true friends, and would give up to him all royalties, rights, and juriſdictions, in a greater degree than any earl had hitherto been poſſeſſed of. The earl was adviſed to go to Flanders, where he was joyfully received; and the chief towns made him rich and handſome preſents.

As ſoon as the king of England was informed of this he ſent the earls of Northampton and Arundel, and lord Reginald Cobham, into Flanders; who managed

managed matters ſo well with the leading men in place, and with the corporations, that they were more deſirous their lord ſhould marry a daughter of the king of England, than the daughter of the duke of Brabant: they very affectionately intreated their lord ſo to do, and ſupported it by many ſtrong and good arguments, which would be too tedious to detail here; inſomuch that thoſe of the duke of Brabant's party could ſay nothing to the contrary. The earl, however, would not conſent to it, notwithſtanding their fair ſpeeches and arguments, but repeated his former declaration, that he would never marry the daughter of him who had killed his father, were he to have a moiety of the kingdom of England for her dower.

When the Flemings heard this, they ſaid, their lord was too much of a Frenchman, and very ill adviſed, and that he muſt not expect any good from them, ſince he would not liſten to their councils. They arreſted him, and confined him, though not a cloſe priſoner, and told him, he ſhould never have his liberty until he would pay attention to their advice: they added, that if the late earl, his father, had not loved the French ſo much, but had liſtened to them, he would have been the greateſt prince in Chriſtendom, and would have recovered Liſle, Bethune and Douay, and been alive at this day.

Whilſt all this was paſſing, the king of England ſtill held on the ſiege of Calais. He kept his court there at Chriſtmas in a royal and noble manner; and in the enſuing Lent, the earl of Derby, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Oxford, and many knights and

and ſquires who had croſſed the ſea with them, returned from Gaſcony.

The earl of Flanders was for a long time in danger from the Flemings, and, being a priſoner, was perfectly weary of it. He therefore made them underſtand, that he was willing to follow their advice, for he could receive more advantages from them than from thoſe in any other country. Theſe words pleaſed the Flemings much: they gave him his liberty, and allowed him to partake of one of his favourite amuſements, hawking, of which he was very fond. However, when he went to follow this ſport, they ſet a good watch over him, that he did not eſcape, nor was ſtolen from thoſe who had undertaken to guard him, on pain of death. Theſe guards were of the king of England's party; and watched him ſo cloſely that they would ſcarcely allow him to make water.

This conduct laſted ſo long, and was ſo offenſive to the earl, that he agreed to marry the king of England's daughter. The Flemings immediately informed the king of it, and deſired that the king and queen would come to the monaſtery at Bergues, accompanied by their daughter, and they would bring their earl there, and conclude the marriage. You may eaſily imagine how pleaſed the king and queen were with this news: they ſaid, the Flemings were very good ſort of people. A day was fixed on for all parties to be at Bergues St. Vinox, between Newport and Gravelines.

The moſt powerful and leading men of the principal towns of Flanders came hither in great pomp, bringing

bringing their lord with them. He reſpectfully ſaluted the king and queen, who were there in great ſtate.

The king took the earl gently by the hand, led him forth, and ſaid, to excuſe himſelf as being the cauſe of the death of his father, that, as God ſhould help him, he had never heard, on the day of the battle of Crecy, nor on the morrow, that the earl had been there.

The young earl appeared to be ſatisfied with this excuſe. The ſubject of the marriage was next diſcuſſed, and certain articles and treaties were agreed upon between the king, the earl, and the ſtates of Flanders, which were promiſed and ſworn to be adhered to*.

The earl was then betrothed to the lady Iſabella, daughter of the king and queen of England, whom he engaged to eſpouſe; but the day of marriage was put off, until the king ſhould have more leiſure. The Flemings returned home, taking with them their lord; and they quitted the king, queen and the council in very good humour: the king went back to the ſiege of Calais.

Things remained in this ſtate: whilſt the king was making preparations for rich preſents of cloths and jewels to diſtribute on the wedding-day, the queen was employed in the ſame manner, as ſhe was anxious to acquit herſelf on the occaſion with honor and generoſity.

* There is in the Fœdera the treaty of Marriage, dated Dunkirk, 3d March 1346; but the ſeal has been torn off, probably as not having been carried into effect.

The

The earl of Flanders, who was returned to his own country, and among his own people, was continually hawking, and pretended that this Engliſh alliance was perfectly agreeable to him. The Flemings believed all he ſaid, and did not keep ſo ſtrict a guard upon him as before: but they were not then acquainted with the diſpoſition of their lord; for, however much he might diſſemble in his outward behaviour, he was in his heart devoted to the French.

It happened one day, in the ſame week that he was to eſpouſe the Engliſh princeſs, he went out a hawking: the falconer fled his hawk at a heron, and the earl did the ſame with his: the two hawks purſued their game, and the earl galloped off, as if following them, crying, 'Hoye, hoye.' When he was at ſome diſtance from his keepers, and in the open fields, he ſtuck ſpurs into his horſe, and made ſuch ſpeed that he was ſoon out of ſight: he did not ſtop until he was got into Artois, where he was ſafe. He then went to king Philip in France, and related to him and his nobles his adventures, who told him he had acted wiſely; but the Engliſh, on the contrary, accuſed him of betraying and deceiving them.

The king of England, nevertheleſs, did not fail for this, to cultivate the friendſhip of the Flemings; for he knew that what had happened was not through their conſent, but, on the contrary, that they were very much enraged at it; ſo he was immediately ſatisfied with the excuſes they made him on the occaſion.

CHAP.

CHAP. CXXXIX.

THE LORD ROBERT DE NAMUR* DOES HOMAGE TO THE KING OF ENGLAND, BEFORE CALAIS.

MANY barons and knights, from Flanders, Hainault, Brabant and Germany came to pay their reſpects to the king and queen, whilſt they were beſieging Calais; and none returned without conſiderable preſents.

About this time, the lord Robert de Namur was newly returned into the county of Namur, from an expedition to the Holy Land, where he had been knighted by the lord Deſpentin. He was very young, and had not been ſolicited for his aſſiſtance by either of the two kings. He ſet out with a rich and numerous attendance, and came to Calais, accompanied by many knights and ſquires, where he was kindly received by the king, queen and all the barons. He gained their favour and eſteem, from bearing the ſame name as his uncle, the lord Robert d'Artois, who had been formerly ſo well beloved by them, and from whoſe councils they had reaped ſo much benefit. Lord Robert de Namur from this time became a loyal ſervant to the king of England, who granted him a penſion of three hun-

* Lord Robert de Namur was Froiſſart's great patron; and to him we are indebted for this hiſtory, as he himſelf mentions in his preface. He was created a knight of the garter, in Richard II.'s reign, and is the 85th knight of that order.—See Aſhmole's hiſtory of the order of the garter.

dred

dred pounds ſterling a-year, and aſſigned the payment of it on his cheſt at Bruges. He remained with the king at the ſiege of Calais, until the town was won, as you will hear related.

CHAP. CXL.

THE ENGLISH CONQUER LA ROCHE-D'ERRIEN*,—TO WHICH PLACE THE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS LAYS SIEGE.

I HAVE abſtained a long time from ſpeaking of the lord Charles of Blois, at that time duke of Brittany, and of the counteſs of Montfort; but it has been occaſioned by the truce agreed to before Vannes, which was ſtrictly obſerved: each party, during that time, kept peaceably all that they had gained.

As ſoon as the truce was expired, the war was renewed with vigour. The king of England had ſent into Brittany ſir Thomas Daggeworth† and ſir John Hartwell; and they had quitted the ſiege of Calais with two hundred men at arms and four hundred archers.

The counteſs of Montfort remained in the town of Hennebon; and ſhe had with her ſir Taneguy du Châtel, a knight from lower Brittany. The

* A town in Brittany, about two leagues from Treguier, near Guingamp.

† Sir Thomas Daggeworth was appointed commander in Brittany, by writ of privy ſeal, dated Reading, January 10, 1347. —FŒDERA.

Engliſh and Bretons made frequent attacks upon the lord Charles's party, and with various ſucceſs; but the country was completely ruined and deſtroyed by theſe men at arms, and the poor people paid dearly for it.

Three knights, one day, ſet out to beſiege a town called la Roche-d'errien: they had collected a number of men at arms on horſeback, and foot ſoldiers, and made ſome violent attacks upon the town; but it was ſo well defended, that the Engliſh could not gain any advantage. The captain of the garriſon for lord Charles was Taſſart de Guines*, but three parts of the inhabitants were more attached to the Engliſh than to the French; ſo they arreſted ſir Taſſart, and declared they would murder him, if he would not join them in ſurrendering the place to the Engliſh. Upon this, he ſaid he would comply with whatever they wiſhed: they then let him go, and advanced towards the Engliſh army, whom they admitted into their town. Sir Taſſart was continued as before, governor of it. When the Engliſh returned to Hennebon, they left with him a ſufficiency of men at arms and archers, to defend the town and caſtle.

Lord Charles, when he heard this, ſwore things ſhould not go on thus. He ſummoned all his partiſans in Brittany and Normandy, and aſſembled in the city of Nantes ſixteen hundred men in armour, and twelve thouſand foot ſoldiers. There might be

* The hiſtorian of Brittany ſeems to think this perſon ſhould be Richard Touſſaint.

four

four hundred knights and twenty-three bannerets, who all came to lay ſiege to la Roche-d'errien. They brought with them large engines, which threw ſtones into the town day and night, and much annoyed the inhabitants. The townſmen ſent off meſſengers, to inform the counteſs what was going forwards; as ſhe had promiſed them aſſiſtance, if they ſhould be beſieged.

Upon this, the counteſs ſent every where, that ſhe could think likely, to procure men, and in a ſhort time collected a thouſand men in armour, and eight thouſand foot ſoldiers, which ſhe put under the command of the three* knights before mentioned. Theſe knights declared that they would either raiſe the ſiege of la Roche-d'errien, or periſh in the attempt; and, taking the field, they advanced very near to the army of lord Charles: they took up their quarters on the banks of a river, with the intention of fighting the next day. About midnight ſir Thomas Dagworth and ſir John Hartwell armed one half of their people, and, ſetting off in ſilence, fell upon one of the wings of lord Charles's army, and ſlew a great number of his men. They remained in this action ſo long that the whole army was rouſed and armed; they could not therefore retreat, without encountering the whole of the lord Charles's force. They were ſurrounded, and ſo ſharply dealt with that they could not withſtand the powers of the

* From what follows, one may ſuppoſe theſe three knights were,—ſir Thomas Dagworth,—ſir John Hartwell,—ſir Tanegay du Châtel.

French. Sir Thomas Dagworth was taken priſoner, after having been ſeverely wounded. Sir John Hartwell eſcaped as well as he was able, with all that he could bring off with him, by making for the river. He related to ſir Taneguy du Châtel the ill ſucceſs of their attack; and they held a council, whether they ought not to return to Hennebon.*

CHAP. CXLI.

THE COMBAT OF LA ROCHE-D'ERRIEN, WHERE THE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS IS MADE PRISONER.

AT the time they were holding this council, whether to decamp or not, there came to them a knight from the counteſs, called Garnier lord of Cadoudal, with a hundred men at arms, who had been prevented from coming ſooner. When he was informed of the reſolution they were about to take of returning, 'Oh come,' ſaid he, 'arm yourſelves quickly, and mount your horſes; and he

* Our hiſtorians relate this affair differently. See Dugdale's Baronage. Sir Thomas Dagworth was not made priſoner, nor wounded; he was the perſon who adviſed the ſecond attack, not the lord of Cadoudal, as Froiſſart relates. The king, for his good conduct, made him his lieutenant-general of the duchy of Brittany; and the enſuing year he was called up to the houſe of peers.

In the Hiſtoire de Bretagne, ſo often quoted, the account of theſe engagements is very different, and in part not very much to the honour of ſir Thomas Dagworth, if the facts be true. Vol. i. pp. 276, 277.

that

that has no horſe, let him follow on foot; for we will go and look once more at our enemies, who are now ſo elated that we ſhall be ſure to conquer them.'

Thoſe that had horſes ſoon got themſelves in readineſs, and ſet out; and the foot followed them; ſo that, about ſun-riſe, they came upon the army of the lord Charles, which they found wrapped up in ſleep, for they did not imagine they ſhould have any more diſturbance.

The Engliſh and Bretons began immediately to cut down and deſtroy tents and pavilions, and to ſlay all thoſe whom they had thus ſurpriſed; for they had thought themſelves ſo ſecure, they had not ſet any watch. Thus were thoſe of the party of lord Charles defeated, and all the barons of Normandy and Brittany that were with him taken priſoners that night. The ſiege of la Roche-d'errien was raiſed, and lord Charles conducted to Hennebon. Nevertheleſs the towns and fortreſſes that he had before gained, ſtill held out for him; for his wife, who called herſelf ducheſs of Brittany, undertook moſt cheerfully to continue the war.

CHAP. CXLII.

THE KING OF FRANCE COLLECTS A GREAT ARMY TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF CALAIS.

KING Philip of France, who felt that his ſubjects in Calais muſt be ſeverely oppreſſed, commanded all the knights and ſquires of his realm to rendezvous at Amiens, or near that town, on the feaſt of Whitſuntide. No one dared to diſobey this order, but all were punctual in being there at the appointed time. King Philip kept a ſolemn court at Amiens, at which were preſent the duke of Normandy his eldeſt ſon, the duke of Orleans his youngeſt ſon, Eudes duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Foix, the lord Lewis of Savoy, the lord John of Hainault, the earls of Armagnac, Valentinois, Forêts, and a great many other earls, barons and knights.

When all theſe noblemen were aſſembled in Amiens, they held many councils. The king of France was very anxious to have a free paſſage through Flanders, that he might ſend through it a part of his army by way of Gravelines, to reinforce the garriſon of Calais, and to attack and fight with the Engliſh on that ſide of the town. He ſent, therefore, a very magnificent embaſſy into Flanders, to treat with the Flemings on this ſubject: but the king of England had ſo many friends there, that they would not grant him his requeſt. The king, upon this, ſaid, he would then advance as far as Boulogne.

The

The king of England, who found he could not conquer Calais, but by famine, ordered a large caſtle to be conſtructed of ſtrong timbers, in order to ſhut up the communication with the ſea; and he directed it to be built and embattled in ſuch a manner that it could not be deſtroyed. He placed it between the town and the ſea, and fortified it with all ſorts of warlike inſtruments, and garriſoned it with forty men at arms and two hundred archers, who guarded the harbour and port of Calais ſo cloſely, that nothing could come out or go into the town, without being ſunk or taken. By this means he more ſorely aggrieved the Caleſians, than by any thing he had hitherto done, and ſooner brought famine among them.

About this time, the king of England was ſo active among the Flemings, (with whom, as you have juſt heard, the king of France wanted to make a treaty) that they, to the amount of a hundred thouſand men, marched out of Flanders, and laid ſiege to the town of Aire*: they burnt all the country round it, as far as St. Venant, Mourville la Gorge, Eſtelly le Ventre, and a tract of country round Loo, and even as far as the gates of St. Qmer† and Terouenne‡.

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* A ſtrong town in Artois, generality of Amiens, fourteen leagues from Calais.

† A ſtrong city in Artois, ten leagues from Calais.

‡ An ancient town in Artois, deſtroyed by Charles V. 1553.

The king of France took up his quarters at Arras*. He ſent a large body of men to ſtrengthen his garriſons in Artois, and in particular ſir Charles d'Eſpagne, his conſtable, to St. Omer; for the earl of Eu and of Guines, who had been conſtable, was a priſoner, as I have before related, in England.

The Flemings kept advancing into the country, and gave the French employment enough before they retreated.

When the Flemings were returned, after having made themſelves well acquainted with the parts about Loo†, the king of France and his army left Arras, and came to Heſdin‡: the army and baggage occupied three leagues of country. When the king had reſted one day at Heſdin, he advanced the next day to Blangy§, where he halted, in order to conſider whither he ſhould march next. He was adviſed to make for that part of the country called la Belune, and accordingly began his march thither, his army following, which amounted, including men of all deſcriptions, to two hundred thouſand. The king and his army paſſed through the country of Faukenberg‖, and came ſtraight to the hill of Sangate¶, between Calais and Wiſſant: they marched

* A ſtrong city in Artois, twenty-ſeven leagues from Calais.

† Loo,—a town to the ſouth of Furnes.

‡ A ſtrong town in Artois, dioceſe of Arras, thirteen leagues diſtant from it.

§ Village in Artois, bailiwick of St. Pol.

‖ A village in Artois, bailiwick of Aire.

¶ A village in Picardy, government of Calais.

armed,

armed, with banners flying, by moon-light; ſo that it was a beautiful ſight to ſee their gallant army. When thoſe in Calais perceived them, from the walls, pitching their tents, they thought it had been a new ſiege.

CHAP. CXLIII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND GUARDS ALL THE PASSES ROUND CALAIS, SO THAT THE KING OF FRANCE CANNOT APPROACH TO RAISE THE SIEGE.

I WILL now relate what the king of England had done, and was doing, when he ſaw with what a prodigious force the king of France was come to raiſe the ſiege of Calais, which had coſt him ſo much money and labour. He knew that the town was ſo nearly famiſhed, that it could hold out but a very ſhort time: therefore, it would have ſorely hurt him, to have been forced at that time to raiſe it. He conſidered, that the French could neither approach his army nor the town of Calais but by two roads: the one by the downs, along the ſea-ſhore; the other higher up the country, which, however, was full of ditches and bogs; and there was but one bridge, called the bridge of Nieullet, by which they could be croſſed. He poſted, therefore, his fleet along the ſhore, as near as he could to the downs, and provided it with plenty of every warlike engine; ſo that the French could not paſs that way. He ſent the earl of Derby, with a ſufficient force of men at arms and archers, to guard

the bridge of Nieullet. The French, therefore, were prevented from advancing thither, unleſs they attempted croſſing the marſhes between Sangate and the ſea, which were impaſſable. There was alſo, nearer to Calais, a high tower, which was guarded by thirty archers from England; and they had fortified it with double ditches, as a ſtronger defence of the paſſage over the downs.

When the French had taken up their quarters on the hill of Sangate, thoſe from Tournay, who might amount to about fifteen hundred men, advanced towards this tower: the garriſon ſhot at them, and wounded ſome; but the men of Tournay croſſed the ditches, and reached the foot of the tower with pick-axes and bars. The engagement was then very ſharp; and many of the Tournaymen were killed and wounded; but, in the end, the tower was taken and thrown down, and all that were within it put to the ſword.

The king of France ſent his two marſhals, the lord of Beaujeu and the lord of St. Venant, to examine the country, and ſee where the army could paſs, in order to fight with the Engliſh: but, after they had well examined all the paſſes, they returned and told the king there was not any poſſibility of doing it, but with infinite loſs of men. Things remained in this ſtate, that day and the following night; but on the morrow, after the king of France had heard maſs, he ſent to the king of England the lord Geoffry de Chargny, the lord Euſtace de Ribeaumont, ſir Guy de Neſle and the lord of Beaujeu, who, as they rode along, obſerved how ſtrongly

all

all the paſſes were guarded: they were allowed to proceed freely, for ſo the king of England had ordered, and praiſed very much the diſpoſitions of the earl of Derby, who was poſted at the bridge of Nieullet, over which they paſſed.

They rode on, until they came where the king was, whom they found ſurrounded by his barons and knights: they all four diſmounted, and advanced towards the king, with many reverences; then the lord Euſtace de Ribeaumont ſaid, 'Sir, the king of France informs you through us, that he is come to the hill of Sangate, in order to give you battle; but he cannot find any means of approaching you: he therefore wiſhes you would aſſemble your council, and he will ſend ſome of his, that they may confer together, and fix upon a ſpot where a general combat may take place.' The king of England was adviſed to make his anſwer as follows: 'Gentlemen, I perfectly underſtand the requeſt you have made me from my adverſary, who wrongfully keeps poſſeſſion of my inheritance, which weighs much upon me. You will therefore tell him from me, if you pleaſe, that I have been on this ſpot near a twelvemonth: this he was well informed of, and, had he choſen it, might have come here ſooner; but he has allowed me to remain ſo long, that I have expended very large ſums of money, and have done ſo much that I muſt be maſter of Calais in a very ſhort time: I am not therefore inclined, in the ſmalleſt degree, to comply with his requeſt, or to gratify his convenience, or to abandon what I have gained, or what I have been

been ſo anxious to conquer. If, therefore, neither he nor his army can paſs this way, he muſt ſeek out ſome other road*.'

The four noblemen then returned, and were eſcorted as far as the bridge of Nieullet, and related to the king of France the king of England's anſwer. Whilſt the king of France was deviſing means to fight with the Engliſh, two cardinals, from pope Clement, arrived as ambaſſadors in the camp.

Immediately on their arrival, they viſited each army, and exerted themſelves ſo much that they procured a ſort of truce; during which time, four lords of each party were to meet, and endeavour to form a peace. On the part of the king of France, were nominated the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the lord lewis of Savoy, and ſir John of Hainault. The Engliſh commiſſioners were, the earl of Derby, the earl of Northampton, lord Reginald Cobham, and ſir Walter Manny†. The two cardinals were the moſt active perſons in this buſineſs, going backwards and forwards from one army to the other.

Theſe commiſſioners were three days together; and various propoſitions for peace were brought

* By a letter from Edward to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, which is at length in Aveſbury, pp. 162, &c. he ſays *he* accepted this challenge, but that the enemy varied in his terms of acceptance, ſo that they could not agree; and that the French, ſetting fire to their tents, ran off with precipitation, as if they had been defeated.

† Sir Walter Manny had a ſummons to parliament among the barons of the realm, from the 21ſt to the 44th of this king's reign inclusive.—DUGDALE.

forward,

forward, though none took effect. During which time, the king of England was ſtrengthening his army, and making wide and deep ditches on the downs, to prevent the French from ſurpriſing him. When theſe three days were paſſed without any treaty being effected, the two cardinals went to St. Omer.

The king of France, perceiving he could not in any way ſucceed, decamped on the morrow, and took the road to Amiens, where he diſbanded all his troops, the men at arms, as well as thoſe ſent from the different towns. When the Caleſians ſaw them depart, it gave them great grief. Some of the Engliſh fell on their rear, and captured horſes, and waggons laden with wine and other things, as well as ſome priſoners; all which they brought to their camp before Calais.

CHAP. CXLIV.

THE TOWN OF CALAIS SURRENDERS TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

AFTER the departure of the king of France, with his army, from the hill of Sangate, the Caleſians ſaw clearly that all hopes of ſuccour were at an end; which occaſioned them ſo much ſorrow and diſtreſs, that the hardieſt could ſcarcely ſupport it. They intreated, therefore, moſt earneſtly, the lord John de Vienne, their governor, to mount upon the battlements, and make a ſign that he wiſhed to hold a parley. The king of England, upon

upon hearing this, ſent to him ſir Walter Manny and lord Baſſet. When they were come near, the lord de Vienne ſaid to them: 'Dear gentlemen, you who are very valiant knights, know that the king of France, whoſe ſubjects we are, has ſent us hither to defend this town and caſtle from all harm and damage: this we have done to the beſt of our abilities. All hopes of help have now left us, ſo that we are moſt exceedingly ſtraitened; and if the gallant king, your lord, have not pity upon us, we muſt periſh with hunger. I therefore intreat, that you would beg of him to have compaſſion on us, and to have the goodneſs to allow us to depart in the ſtate we are in, and that he will be ſatisfied with having poſſeſſion of the town and caſtle, with all that is within them, as he will find therein riches enough to content him.' To this ſir Walter Manny replied: 'John, we are not ignorant of what the king our lord's intentions are; for he has told them to us: know then, that it is not his pleaſure you ſhould get off ſo; for he is reſolved that you ſurrender yourſelves ſolely to his will, to allow thoſe whom he pleaſes their ranſom, or to put them to death; for the Caleſians have done him ſo much miſchief, and have, by their obſtinate defence, coſt him ſo many lives and ſo much money, that he is mightily enraged.'

The lord de Vienne anſwered: 'Theſe conditions are too hard for us. We are but a ſmall number of knights and ſquires, who have loyally ſerved our lord and maſter, as you would have done, and have ſuffered much ill and diſquiet; but

we will endure more than any men ever did in a ſimilar ſituation, before we conſent that the ſmalleſt boy in the town ſhould fare worſe than the beſt. I therefore once more intreat you, out of compaſſion, to return to the king of England, and beg of him to have pity on us: he will, I truſt, grant you this favour: for I have ſuch an opinion of his gallantry as to hope, that, through God's mercy, he will alter his mind.' The two lords returned to the king, and related what had paſſed. The king ſaid, he had no intentions of complying with the requeſt, but ſhould inſiſt that they ſurrendered themſelves unconditionally to his will. Sir Walter replied: 'My lord you may to be blame in this, as you will ſet us a very bad example; for if you order us to go to any of your caſtles, we ſhall not obey you ſo cheerfully, if you put theſe people to death; for they will retaliate upon us, in a ſimilar caſe.' Many barons who were then preſent ſupported this opinion. Upon which the king replied: 'Gentlemen, I am not ſo obſtinate as to hold my opinion alone againſt you all: ſir Walter, you will inform the governor of Calais, that the only grace he muſt expect from me is, that ſix of the principal citizens of Calais march out of the town, with bare heads and feet, with ropes round their necks, and the keys of the town and caſtle in their hands. Theſe ſix perſons ſhall be at my abſolute diſpoſal, and the remainder of the inhabitants pardoned.'

Sir Walter returned to the lord de Vienne, who was waiting for him on the battlements, and told

him

him all that he had been able to gain from the king. 'I beg of you,' replied the governor, 'that you would be ſo good as to remain here a little, whilſt I go and relate all that has paſſed to the townſmen; for, as they have deſired me to undertake this, it is but proper they ſhould know the reſult of it.'

He went to the market-place, and cauſed the bell to be rung: upon which all the inhabitants, men and women, aſſembled in the town-hall. He then related to them what he had ſaid, and the anſwers he had received; and that he could not obtain any conditions more favourable, to which they muſt give a ſhort and immediate anſwer.

This information cauſed the greateſt lamentations and deſpair; ſo that the hardeſt heart would have had compaſſion on them; even the lord de Vienne wept bitterly.

After a ſhort time, the moſt wealthy citizen of the town, by name Euſtace de St. Pierre, roſe up and ſaid: 'Gentlemen, both high and low, it would be a very great pity to ſuffer ſo many people to die through famine, if any means could be found to prevent it; and it would be highly meritorious in the eyes of our Saviour, if ſuch miſery could be averted. I have ſuch faith and truſt in finding grace before God, if I die to ſave my townſmen, that I name myſelf as firſt of the ſix.'

When Euſtace had done ſpeaking, they all roſe up and almoſt worſhipped him: many caſt themſelves at his feet, with tears and groans. Another citizen, very rich and reſpected, roſe up and ſaid,

He

He would be the ſecond to his companion, Euſtace: his name was John Daire. After him, James Wiſant, who was very rich in merchandize and lands, offered himſelf, as companion to his two couſins: as did Peter Wiſant, his brother. Two others then named themſelves, which completed the number demanded by the king of England.

The lord John de Vienne then mounted a ſmall hackney; for it was with difficulty that he could walk; and conducted them to the gate. There was the greateſt ſorrow and lamentation all over the town; and in ſuch manner were they attended to the gate, which the governor ordered to be opened, and then ſhut upon him and the ſix citizens, whom he led to the barriers, and ſaid to ſir Walter Manny, who was there waiting for him; 'I deliver up to you, as governor of Calais, with the conſent of the inhabitants, theſe ſix citizens; and I ſwear to you that they were, and are at this day, the moſt wealthy and reſpectable inhabitants of Calais. I beg of you, gentle ſir, that you would have the goodneſs to beſeech the king, that they may not be put to death.' 'I cannot anſwer for what the king will do with them.' replied ſir Walter; 'but you may depend, that I will do all in my power to ſave them.'

The barriers were opened; when theſe ſix citizens advanced towards the pavilion of the king; and the lord de Vienne re-entered the town.

When ſir Walter Manny had preſented theſe ſix citizens to the king, they fell upon their knees, and, with uplifted hands, ſaid; 'Moſt gallant king,

ſee before you ſix citizens of Calais, who have been capital merchants, and who bring you the keys of the caſtle and of the town. We ſurrender ourſelves to your abſolute will and pleaſure, in order to ſave the remainder of the inhabitants of Calais, who have ſuffered much diſtreſs and miſery. Condeſcend therefore, out of your nobleneſs of mind, to have mercy and compaſſion upon us.' All the barons, knights and ſquires, that were aſſembled there in great numbers, wept at this ſight.

The king eyed them with angry looks, (for he hated much the people of Calais, for the great loſſes he had formerly ſuffered from them at ſea,) and ordered their heads to be ſtricken off. All preſent intreated the king, that he would be more merciful to them, but he would not liſten to them. Then ſir Walter Manny ſaid; 'Ah, gentle king, let me beſeech you to reſtrain your anger: you have the reputation of great nobleneſs of ſoul, do not therefore tarniſh it by ſuch an act as this, nor allow any one to ſpeak in a diſgraceful manner of you. In this inſtance, all the world will ſay you have acted cruelly, if you put to death ſix ſuch reſpectable perſons, who, of their own free will, have ſurrendered themſelves to your mercy, in order to ſave their fellow-citizens.' Upon this, the king gave a wink, ſaying, 'Be it ſo,' and ordered the headſman to be ſent for; for that the Caleſians had done him ſo much damage, it was proper they ſhould ſuffer for it.

The

The queen of England, who at that time was very big with child, fell on her knees, and, with tears, ſaid; 'Ah, gentle ſir, ſince I have croſſed the ſea with great danger, to ſee you, I have never aſked you one favour: now, I moſt humbly aſk as a gift, for the ſake of the Son of the bleſſed Mary, and for your love to me, that you will be merciful to theſe ſix men.' The king looked at her for ſome time in ſilence, and then ſaid; 'Ah, lady, I wiſh you had been any where elſe than here: you have entreated in ſuch a manner that I cannot refuſe you; I therefore give them to you, to do as you pleaſe with them.' The queen conducted the ſix citizens to her apartments, and had the halters taken from round their necks, after which ſhe new clothed them, and ſerved them with a plentiful dinner: ſhe then preſented each with ſix nobles, and had them eſcorted out of the camp in ſafety*.

CHAP.

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* 'Froiſſart alone among his contemporaries relates this remarkable fact: and the ſimplicity of his ſtyle may give even to fable the appearance of truth. Edward was generous: he is here repreſented as a ferocious conqueror, whom love alone could ſoften, and who obſtinately perſiſts to puniſh a courage which he ought to have eſteemed. The action of theſe ſix men, thus devoting themſelves for their fellow-citizens, was ſufficiently great, to have been trumpeted through all France by the thouſand and thouſand voices of Fame. This action, however, brilliant as it was, and which the wretches driven out of Calais would have ſpoken of every where, was unknown in the capital. If it had been otherwiſe, the Chronicle of St. Denis, and other hiſtories of the time, would not have been ſilent on the ſubject; and yet not

CHAP. CXLV.

THE KING OF ENGLAND RE-PEOPLES CALAIS.

THUS had the ſtrong town of Calais been beſieged by king Edward of England, as you have heard, about St. John's day, in Auguſt, in the year

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not one mentions it. Aveſbury, an Engliſhman and contemporary, who is very particular as to all the circumſtances of the ſiege of Calais, is equally ſilent. Villani alone goes even beyond Froiſſart; for he ſays, that Edward intended to hang all the citizens of Calais: and he adds, they were all forced to abandon the town naked, all but their ſhirts. This falſehood ſhould render the other parts of his recital doubtful.

'Froiſſart, an hiſtorian and poet, and who has too often expanded over hiſtory the privileges of poetry, has only embroidered a little what truth offered him. When the Caleſians ſaw the retreat of Philip, they ſtruck the flag which was flying on the great tower: John de Vienne ordered the gates to be opened, and left the town mounted on a ſmall hackney, for he had been wounded. The warriors who accompanied him held their ſwords pointed to the ground; and many of the citizens followed with halters round their necks, and with their heads and feet bare. Edward kept, as priſoners, the governor, fifteen knights and ſome citizens; but he did not ſend them to England, until he had loaded them with preſents: he haſtened to diſtribute food among the inhabitants who had remained in the town. We only ſee, in all theſe circumſtances, the humiliation of the inhabitants, wiſhing by it to affect the conqueror, and the generoſity of the prince.

'Froiſſart ſuppoſes that the queen of England was melted into tears at the fate of theſe citizens, condemned by her huſband, and that ſhe humbled herſelf ſo as to caſt herſelf at the feet of the inflexible conqueror, to obtain their pardon;

year 1346, and ſurrendered about the end of Auguſt 1347. The king, after he had preſented theſe ſix citizens to the queen, called to him ſir Walter Manny,

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don; and we ſee, ſome days afterward, this queen, ſo generous, obtain, for her own profit, the confiſcation of the houſes of this John Daire, whoſe life, it is ſaid, ſhe ſaved. On the other hand, Edward is deſcribed as obſtinately bent on having the venerable Euſtace de St. Pierre beheaded; and we ſee, ſhortly after, this ſame Euſtace de St. Pierre overwhelmed, as it were, with gifts. The conqueror gives him houſes, conſiderable penſions, and even deigns to expreſs himſelf, that he only grants theſe firſt favours until he ſhall have more amply provided for him: they are recompenſes by which he acknowledges beforehand the ſervices this citizen may render him, either by keeping good order in the town of Calais, or in watching over its ſecurity. Here then is this famous St. Pierre, one day the hero, and the next the complaiſant betrayer of his country: one moment the object of the revenge and cruelty of Edward, the next of his confidence and favour.

'The intereſts of this prince forced him to a neceſſary rigour. He wiſhed to preſerve Calais, as it opened to him an entrance into France; and he could not leave their inhabitants too much attached to their own country not to hate its deſtroyer.

'Thoſe who refuſed to ſwear fidelity to him were obliged to quit the town, and make room for a new population imported from England; and this St. Pierre, this St. Pierre whoſe noble courage ſhould have rendered him the moſt to be dreaded, is one of thoſe whom the conqueror retains, and who is by him charged to overlook the conduct of others.

'The Engliſh monarch certainly ſhewed ſigns of ſeverity. We ſee, by the letter he wrote to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, that when Philip, encamped near to Calais, had demanded, as a preliminary of peace, that the inhabitants ſhould have liberty to quit the town with their fortunes, it

Manny, and his two marſhals, the earls of Warwick and Stafford, and ſaid to them, 'My lords, here are the keys of the town and caſtle of Calais: go and take poſſeſſion of them. You will put into priſon the knights you may find there; but you will ſend out of the town all the other inhabitants, and all ſoldiers that may have come there to ſerve for pay; as I am reſolved to re-people the town with Engliſh alone.'

Theſe three noblemen, with only one hundred men, went and took poſſeſſion of Calais, and, from the gates, ſent to priſon the lord John de Surie, the lord John de Vienne, the lord John de Belle-bourne, and other knights. They then ordered every ſort of arms to be brought and piled in a heap in the market-place. They ſent out of the town all ranks of people, retaining only one prieſt, and two other old men, that were well acquainted

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was refuſed: and when Edward granted to the humiliation of the townſmen what he had refuſed to Philip, he only detained as priſoners ſome of the principal citizens; but detaining them as priſoners is very different from having them put to death before his eyes.

'The king of France did not forſake the miſerable Caleſians when they were driven out of their town, but gave them all the offices which were then vacant in his realm, with powers to ſell them, or exerciſe them by deputies. He alſo granted them landed or other eſtates that might eſcheat to the crown. But whether theſe reſources came too late, or were inſufficient; whether the monarch met with contradictions in theſe acts of beneficence, it is aſſerted, that a great number of the Caleſians were reduced to beggary.'

La France, ſous le cinq Premiers Valois, par M. Leveſque, pp. 518, &c.

with

with the cuſtoms and uſages of Calais, in order to point out the different properties, and gave directions for the caſtle to be prepared for lodging the king and queen, and different hôtels for their attendants.

When this had been done, the king and queen mounted their ſteeds, and rode towards the town, which they entered at the ſound of trumpets, drums, and all ſorts of warlike inſtruments. The king remained in it until the queen was brought to bed of a daughter, called Margaret*.

The king gave to ſir Walter Manny, lord Stafford, lord Warwick, ſir Bartholomew Burgherſh, and other knights, very handſome houſes in Calais, that they might re-people it: and his intentions were, to ſend thither, on his return to England, thirty-ſix ſubſtantial citizens, with all their wealth, and to exert himſelf in ſuch a manner that the inhabitants of the town ſhould be wholly Engliſh: which he afterwards accompliſhed.

The new town and fortifications, which had been built before Calais, were deſtroyed, as well as the caſtle upon the harbour, and the great boom which was thrown acroſs was brought into the town.

The king poſted different perſons to guard the gates, walls and towers of the town; and what had been damaged he got repaired, which however, was not ſoon done. The lord John de Vienne and his

* Margaret of Calais was married to the lord John Haſtings, earl of Pembroke, but died before her huſband, without iſſue — BARNES.

companions were ſent to England: they remained in London about half a year, and then were ranſomed.

In my opinion, it was a melancholy thing for the inhabitants of both ſexes of the town of Calais, thus to be ſent abroad, with their children, from their inheritances, leaving every thing behind; for they were not allowed to carry off any of their furniture or wealth; and they received no aſſiſtance from the king of France, for whom they had loſt their all. They did, however, as well as they were able; and the greater part went to St. Omer.

The cardinal Guy de Boulogne, who was come into France as ambaſſador, and was with his couſin king Philip in the city of Amiens, laboured ſo earneſtly, that he obtained a truce between the two kings, and their adherents, which was to laſt for two years. This truce was agreed to by all parties except the rivals for the duchy of Brittany; but there the two ladies carried on the war againſt each other.

The king and queen returned to England; and ſir Aymery de Pavie was appointed governor of the caſtle of Calais: he was a native of Lombardy, and had been much promoted by the king*.

The king ſent the thirty-ſix ſubſtantial citizens, with their wives and families to Calais: their numbers increaſed daily; for he multiplied and enlarged

* Sir John Montgomery was appointed governor of the town of Calais, the 8th October 1347, by the king at Calais; ſir John Gatteſden was at the ſame time nominated marſhal of the town.—RYMER.

their

their privileges ſo much, that many were eager to go there, in order to gain fortunes*.

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* An ancient manuſcript gives the annexed eſtabliſhment of the army of king Edward III. in Normandy and before Calais, in the 20th year of his reign, with their ſeveral ſtipends:

	AT PER DIEM. £.	s.	d.
My lord the prince - - -	1	0	0
Biſhop of Durham - - -	0	6	8
13 earls, each - - -	0	6	8
44 barons and bannerets - -	0	4	0
1046 knights - - - -	0	2	0
4022 eſquires, conſtables, centenary, and leaders	0	1	0
5104 vintenars and archers on horſeback -	0	0	6
335 pauncenars			
500 hobblers			
15,480 foot archers - - -	0	0	3
313 maſons, carpenters, ſmiths, engineers, tent-makers, miners, armourers, gunners, and artillery-men,—ſome at 12d., 10d., 6d., and 3d. per diem.			
4474 Welch foot, of whom 200 vintenars at -	0	0	4
The reſt at - - -	0	0	2
700 maſters, conſtables, mariners, and pages			
900 ſhips, barges, balingers, and victuallers			

Sum total for the aforeſaid men, beſides lords, £31,294; and for ſome men from Germany and France, who each receive for their wages 15 florins per month.

The ſum total of the wages of war, with the wages of the mariners, from the 4th day of June, in the 20th of the ſaid king Edward, to the 12th day of October in the 21ſt of the ſame king, for one year, 131 days, as appears from the book of particular accounts of Walter Wentwaght, then treaſurer of the houſehold, entitled, 'Wages of War in Normandy, France, and before Calais,' was £127,201 : 2 : 9d. halfpenny.—*Groſe's Military Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 330.

About

About this time, the lord Charles of Blois, who called himſelf duke of Brittany, was brought priſoner to London. He was ſent to the Tower, but not as a cloſe priſoner, where the king of Scotland and the earl of Moray were alſo confined. He did not, however, long remain there, but, at the intreaties of the queen of England, to whom he was couſin german, was ſet at liberty on his parole, and rode all over London wherever he pleaſed; but he was not permitted to lie a night out of the tower, except it was in ſuch places where the royal family were*.

The earl of Eu and of Guines was alſo in London a priſoner: he was a very gallant knight, and ſo amiable that he was always well received by the king, queen, barons, and ladies of the court.

CHAP. CXLVI.

A ROBBER, OF THE NAME OF BACON, DOES MUCH MISCHIEF IN LANGUEDOC.

ALL this year of the truce, the two kings remained in peace. But lord William Douglas, and the Scots, who had taken refuge in the foreſt

* Georges de Leſnen, phyſician to Charles de Blois, and Oliver de Bignon, his valet de chambre, affirm their maſter was cloſely confined for two years: that he was ſhut up every night in the tower, from whence he only came out to walk in the court of the caſtle, where the Engliſh ſoldiers inſulted him: and that he never mounted a horſe during theſe two years.—*Hiſt. de Bretagne*, p. 278.

of

of Jedworth, carried on the war againſt the Engliſh, wherever they could meet with them.

Thoſe in Gaſcony, Poitou, and Saintonge, as well French as Engliſh, did not obſerve the truce any better, but conquered towns and caſtles from each other, by force or intrigue, and ruined and deſtroyed the country day and night. There were frequently gallant deeds of arms performed, with alternate ſucceſs.

Poor rogues took advantage of ſuch times, and robbed both towns and caſtles; ſo that ſome of them, becoming rich, conſtituted themſelves captains of bands of thieves: there were among them thoſe worth forty thouſand crowns. Their method was, to mark out particular towns or caſtles, a day or two's journey from each other: they then collected twenty or thirty robbers, and, travelling through bye roads in the night-time, entered the town or caſtle they had fixed on about day-break, and ſet one of the houſes on fire. When the inhabitants perceived it, they thought it had been a body of forces ſent to deſtroy them, and took to their heels as faſt as they could. The town of Donzere* was treated in this manner; and many other towns and caſtles were taken, and afterwards ranſomed. Among other robbers in Languedoc, one had marked out the ſtrong caſtle of Cobourne in Limoſin, which is ſituated in a very ſtrong country. He ſet off in the night-time with thirty companions, took and deſtroyed it. He ſeized alſo the

* A town of Dauphiné, on the Rhône, election of Montelimart.

lord

lord of Cobourne, whom he impriſoned in his own caſtle, and put all his houſehold to death. He kept him in priſon until he ranſomed himſelf for twenty-four thouſand crowns paid down. The robber kept poſſeſſion of the caſtle and its dependencies, which he furniſhed with proviſions, and thence made war upon all the country round about. The king of France, ſhortly afterwards, was deſirous of having him near his perſon: he purchaſed the caſtle of him for twenty thouſand crowns, appointed him his uſher at arms, and heaped on him many other honors. The name of this robber was Bacon, and he was always mounted on handſome horſes of a deep roan colour, or on large palfreys, apparelled like an earl, and very richly armed; and this ſtate he maintained as long as he lived.

CHAP. CXLVII.

A PAGE, OF THE NAME OF CROQUART, TURNS ROBBER.

THERE were ſimilar diſorders in Brittany; and robbers carried on the like methods of ſeizing and pillaging different towns and caſtles, and then ſelling them back again to the country at a dear rate: by which means many of their leaders became very rich. Among others, there was one of the name of Croquart, who was originally but a poor boy, and had been page to the lord d'Ercle in Holland. When this Croquart arrived at manhood, he had his diſcharge, and went to the wars in Brittany, where

where he attached himſelf to a man at arms, and behaved very well. It happened, that in ſome ſkirmiſh his maſter was taken and ſlain; when, in recompenſe for his proweſs, his companions elected him their leader in the place of his late maſter: he then made ſuch profit by ranſoms, and the taking of towns and caſtles, that he was ſaid to be worth full forty thouſand crowns, not including his horſes, of which he had twenty or thirty, very handſome and ſtrong, and of a deep roan colour. He had the reputation of being the moſt expert man at arms of the country, was choſen to be one of the thirty that engaged againſt a ſimilar number, and was the moſt active combatant on the ſide of the Engliſh*.

King

* I have been much ſurpriſed that Froiſſart, who in general is ſo very minute in relating every tranſaction, ſhould have omitted an account of this extraordinary engagement. The relation of it which follows is taken from the Hiſtoire de Bretagne, vol. i. p. 280.

After the death of ſir Thomas Daggeworth, the king appointed ſir Walter Bently commander in Brittany. The Engliſh being much irritated at the death of Daggeworth, and not being able to revenge themſelves on thoſe who ſlew him, did ſo on the whole country by burning and deſtroying it. The marſhal de Beaumanoir, deſirous of putting a ſtop to this, ſent to Bembro, who commanded in Ploërmel, for a paſſport, to hold a conference with him. The marſhal reprobated the conduct of the Engliſh, and high words paſſed between them; for Bembro had been the companion in arms to Daggeworth. At laſt one of them propoſed a combat of thirty on each ſide: the place appointed for it was at the halfway oak-tree between Joſſelin and Ploërmel; and the day was fixed for the 27th March, the fourth Sunday in Lent 1351.

Beaumanoir

King John of France made him the offer of knighting him, and marrying him very richly, if he would

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Beaumanoir choſe nine knights and twenty-one ſquires: the firſt were the lord de Tinteniac, Guy de Rochefort, Yves Charruel, Robin Raguenel, Huon de St. Yvon, Caro de Bodegat, Olivier Arrel, Geoffry du Bois, John Rouſſelet, &c.

Bembro could not find a ſufficient number of Engliſh in his garriſon; there were but twenty, the remainder were Germans and Bretons. Among them were, ſir Robert Knolles, Croquart, Hervé de Lexualen, John Pleſanton, Richard and Hugh le Gaillart, Jannequin Taillart, Reſſefort, Richard de la Laude, Thomelin Billefort, Hugh Calverly, Robinet Melipars, Yfrai or Iſannai, John Ruſſel, Dagorne, and a ſoldier, named Hulbitée, of a very large ſize, and of great ſtrength, &c.

Bembro firſt entered the field of battle, and drew up his troop. Beaumanoir did the ſame. Each made a ſhort harangue to his men, exhorting them to ſupport their own honor and that of their nation. Bembro added, there was an old prophecy of Merlin, which promiſed victory to the Engliſh. As they were on the point of engaging, Bembro made a ſign to Beaumanoir he wiſhed to ſpeak to him, and repreſented he had engaged in this matter rather imprudently; for ſuch combats ought firſt to have had the permiſſion of their reſpective princes. Beaumanoir replied, he had been ſomewhat late in diſcovering this; and the nobility of Brittany would not return without having proved by battle who had the faireſt miſtreſſes. The ſignal was given for the attack. Their arms were not ſimilar; for each was to chooſe ſuch as he liked. Billefort fought with a mallet 25lbs. weight, and others with what arms they choſe. The advantage, at firſt, was for the Engliſh; as the Bretons had loſt five of their men. Beaumanoir exhorted them not to mind this, as they ſtopped to take breath; when, each party having had ſome refreſhments, the combat was renewed. Bembro was killed. On ſeeing this, Croquart cried out; 'Companions, don't let us think

would quit the Engliſh party, and promiſed to give him two thouſand livres a year; but Croquart would never liſten to it. It chanced one day, as he was riding a young horſe, which he had juſt purchaſed for three hundred crowns, and was putting him to his full ſpeed, that the horſe ran away with him, and, in leaping a ditch, ſtumbled into it, and broke his maſter's neck. Such was the end of Croquart.

CHAP. CXLVIII.

SIR AYMERY DE PAVIE PLOTS WITH SIR GEOFFRY DE CHARGNY, TO SELL THE TOWN OF CALAIS.

AT this time ſir Geoffry de Chargny was ſtationed at St. Omer, to defend the frontier; and, in every thing touching war, he acted as if he had

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think of the prophecies of Merlin, but depend on our courage and arms; keep yourſelves cloſe together, be firm, and fight as I do.'

Beaumanoir, being wounded, was quitting the field to quench his thirſt, when Geoffry du Bois cried out, 'Beaumanoir, drink thy blood, and thy thirſt will go off.' This made him aſhamed, and return to the battle.

The Bretons at laſt gained the day, by one of their party breaking on horſeback the ranks of the Engliſh; the greater part of whom were killed. Knolles, Calverly, and Croquart were made priſoners, and carried to the caſtle of Joſſelin. Tinteniac, on the ſide of the Bretons, and Croquart on the Engliſh, obtained the prize of valour. Such was the iſſue of this famous combat of Thirty, ſo glorious to the Bretons, but which decided nothing as to the poſſeſſion of the duchy of Brittany.

been

been king. He bethought himſelf, that as Lombards are very poor, and by nature avaricious, he would attempt to recover the town of Calais, by means of Aymery de Pavie the governor: and as, from the terms of the truce, the inhabitants of the towns of St. Omer and Calais might go to each place to ſell their different merchandizes, ſir Geoffry entered into a ſecret treaty with ſir Aymery, and ſucceeded ſo far that he promiſed to deliver up the town, on receiving twenty thouſand crowns.

The king of England, however, got intelligence of it, and ſent to Aymery the Lombard, orders to croſs the ſea immediately, and come to him at Weſtminſter. He obeyed; for he could not imagine that the king knew of his treaſon, it had been ſo ſecretly carried on.

When the king ſaw the Lombard, he took him aſide, and ſaid; 'Thou knoweſt that I have entruſted to thee what I hold deareſt in this world, except my wife and children, I mean the town and caſtle of Calais, which thou haſt ſold to the French, and for which thou deſerveſt death.' The Lombard flung himſelf on his knees, and ſaid; 'Ah, gentle king, have mercy on me, for God's ſake. All that you have ſaid is very true; but there is yet time to break the bargain, for hitherto I have not received one penny.'

The king had brought up this Lombard from a child, and much loved him: he replied, 'Aymery, it is my wiſh that you continue on this treaty: you will inform me of the day that you are to deliver

up

up Calais; and on theſe conditions I promiſe you my pardon.'

The Lombard then returned to Calais, and kept every thing ſecret. In the mean time, ſir Geoffry de Chargny thought himſelf ſure of having Calais, and iſſued out privately his ſummons for five hundred lances: the greater part were ignorant where he intended to lead them; for it was only known to a few barons. I do not believe he had even informed the king of France of his plan, as he would have diſſuaded him from it, on account of the truce. The Lombard had conſented to deliver up the town to him, the laſt night of the year, with which he made the king of England acquainted by means of his brother*.

CHAP. CXLIX.

THE BATTLE OF CALAIS, BETWEEN THE KING OF ENGLAND, UNDER THE BANNER OF SIR WALTER MANNY, WITH SIR GEOFFRY DE CHARGNY AND THE FRENCH.

WHEN the king of England was informed of this, and knew that the day was for a certainty fixed, he ſet out from England with three hundred

* Sir Aymery de Pavie was appointed commander of the galleys by the king, dated Weſtminſter, 24th April 1348.—Sir Aymery does not ſeem to have forfeited Edward's confidence: I therefore think, with M. Leveſque, that Aveſbury's account is more probable.

hundred men at arms and ſix hundred archers. He embarked at Dover, and came ſo privately to Calais, that no one knew of his being there. He placed his men in ambuſcade in the rooms and towers of the caſtle, and ſaid to ſir Walter Manny; 'Sir Walter, I will that you be chief of this enterprize; and I and my ſon will fight under your banner.'

Sir Geoffry de Chargny had left St. Omer the latter end of December, with all the forces he had collected, and arrived near to Calais, about midnight, the laſt day of the month. He halted there for his rear to come up, and ſent forward two of his ſquires, who found ſir Aymery waiting for them: they aſked, if it were time for ſir Geoffry to advance? The Lombard anſwered, that it was. The two ſquires, upon this, returned to ſir Geoffry, who marched his men in battle array over the bridge of Nieullet: he then ſent forward twelve of his knights, with one hundred men at arms, to take poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Calais; for he thought, if he had poſſeſſion of the caſtle, he ſhould ſoon be maſter of the town, conſidering what ſtrength he had with him; and, in a few days time, he could have as much more, ſhould there be occaſion. He gave orders for twenty thouſand crowns to be delivered to ſir Odoart de Renty, who was in this

'Dictus vero genuenſis, nolens prodere regem Anglorum dominum ſuum..... Aurum tamen ſibi promiſſum cupiens imburſare, cum eodem domino Galfrido pacifice loquens, in dolo ſuis ſuaſionibus callidis adquievit.'—AVESBURY, p. 180.

expe-

expedition, for him to pay the Lombard: and ſir Geoffry remained in the plain in ſilence, his banner diſplayed before him, with the reſt of his army; for his intention was to enter the town by one of its gates; otherwiſe he would not enter it at all.

The Lombard had let down the draw-bridge of the caſtle, and opened one of the gates, through which his detachment entered unmoleſted; and ſir Odoart had given him the twenty thouſand crowns in a bag, who ſaid, 'he ſuppoſed they were all there; for he had not time to count them, as it would be day immediately.' He flung the bag of crowns into a room, which he locked, and told the French, he would conduct them to the great tower, that they may the ſooner be maſters of the caſtle: in ſaying this, he advanced on, and, puſhing back the bolt, the door flew open. In this tower was the king of England with two hundred lances, who ſallied forth, with ſwords and battle-axes in their hands, crying out, 'Manny, Manny! to the reſcue: what, do theſe Frenchmen think to conquer the caſtle of Calais, with ſuch a handful of men!'

The French ſaw that no defence could ſave them; ſo they ſurrendered themſelves priſoners; and ſcarcely any of them were wounded. They were made to enter this tower, whence the Engliſh had ſallied, and there ſhut in.

The Engliſh quitted the caſtle, and, forming themſelves in array, mounted their horſes, for they knew the French were mounted, and made for the gate leading to Boulogne. Sir Geoffry was there with his banner diſplayed: his arms were three

eſcutcheons argent on a field gules; and he was very impatient to be the firſt that ſhould enter Calais. He ſaid to thoſe knights who were near him, that 'if this Lombard delayed opening the gate, they ſhould all die with cold.' 'In God's name,' replied ſir Pepin de Werre, 'theſe Lombards are a malicious ſort of people; perhaps he is examining your florins, leſt there ſhould be any falſe ones, and to ſee if they be right in number.'

During this converſation, the king of England and his ſon advanced, under the banner of ſir Walter Manny. There were many other banners alſo there, ſuch as the earl of Suffolk's, the lord Stafford's, lord John Mountacute's, brother to the earl of Saliſbury, the lord John Beauchamp's, the lord Berkeley's, the lord de la Ware: all theſe were barons, having banners: and no more than theſe were in this expedition.

The great gates were ſoon opened, and they all ſallied out: when the French ſaw this, and heard the cries of 'Manny, to the reſcue!' they found they had been betrayed; and ſir Geoffry ſaid to thoſe around him, 'Gentlemen, if we fly, we ſhall loſe all: it will be more advantageous for us to fight valiantly, in the hopes the day may be ours.' 'By St. George,' ſaid ſome of the Engliſh, who were near enough to hear it, 'you ſpeak truth: evil befal him who thinks of flying.' They then retreated a little, and diſmounted, driving their horſes away, to avoid being trampled on. When the king of England ſaw this, he halted the banner under which he was, and ſaid; 'I would have the

men drawn up here in order of battle: and let a good detachment be ſent towards the bridge of Nieullet; for I have heard that there is poſted a large body of French, on horſeback and on foot.'

Six banners and three hundred archers left his army, and made for the bridge of Nieullet, where they found the lord Moreau de Fiennes, and the lord of Crequi, who guarded it. There was alſo poſted between the bridge and Calais, the croſs-bowmen from St. Omer and Aire, who had that day ſharp work: more than ſix hundred were ſlain or drowned; for they were immediately diſcomfited, and purſued to the river: it was then ſcarcely day-break.

The knights of Picardy maintained this poſt ſome time; and many gallant actions were performed; but the Engliſh kept increaſing from the town, when, on the contrary, the French fell off, ſo that when they found they could not longer keep the bridge, thoſe that had horſes mounted them, and betook themſelves to flight. The Engliſh immediately purſued them, and many were overthrown: but thoſe that were well mounted eſcaped; among them were the lords de Fiennes, de Crequi, de Sempy, de Lonchinleich, and the lord of Namur. Many were taken through their own hardineſs, who might otherwiſe have ſaved themſelves. When it was broad day-light, that each could ſee the other, ſome knights and ſquires collected themſelves together, and vigorouſly attacked the Engliſh, inſomuch that ſeveral of the French made good priſoners, that brought them much profit.

We will now ſpeak of the king of England, who was there incognito, under ſir Walter Manny's banner. He advanced with his men on foot, to meet the enemy, who were formed in cloſe order with their pikes, ſhortened to five feet, planted out before them. The firſt attack was very ſharp and ſevere. The king ſingled out ſir Euſtace de Ribeaumont, who was a ſtrong and hardy knight: he fought a long time marvellouſly well with the king; ſo that it was a pleaſure to ſee them; but, by the confuſion of the engagement, they were ſeparated; for two large bodies met, where they were fighting, and forced them to break off their combat.

On the ſide of the French, there was excellent fighting by ſir Geoffry de Chargny, ſir John de Landas, ſir Hector and ſir Gavin Ballieul, and others; but they were all ſurpaſſed by ſir Euſtace de Ribeaumont, who that day ſtruck the king twice down on his knees: at laſt, however, he was obliged to ſurrender his ſword to the king, ſaying, 'Sir knight, I ſurrender myſelf your priſoner, for the honour of the day muſt fall to the Engliſh.' All that belonged to ſir Geoffry de Chargny were either ſlain or captured: among the firſt were ſir Henry du Bois, and ſir Pepin de Werre: ſir Geoffry and the reſt were taken priſoners. The laſt that was taken, and who in that day had excelled all, was ſir Euſtace de Ribeaumont.

This buſineſs was finiſhed under the walls of Calais, the laſt day of December, towards morning, in the year of grace 1348.

CHAP.

CHAP. CL.

THE KING OF ENGLAND PRESENTS A CHAPLET OF PEARLS TO SIR EUSTACE DE RIBEAUMONT.

WHEN the engagement was over, the king returned to the caſtle in Calais, and ordered all the priſoners to be brought before him. The French then knew for the firſt time that the king of England had been there in perſon, under the banner of ſir Walter Manny.

The king ſaid, he would, this evening of the new year, entertain them all at ſupper, in the caſtle. When the hour for ſupper was come, the tables ſpread, and the king and his knights dreſſed in new robes, as well as the French, who, notwithſtanding they were priſoners, made good cheer (for the king wiſhed it ſhould be ſo): the king ſeated himſelf at table, and made thoſe knights do the ſame around him, in a moſt honourable manner.

The gallant prince of Wales, and the knights of England, ſerved up the firſt courſe, and waited on their gueſts. At the ſecond courſe, they went and ſeated themſelves at another table, where they were ſerved and attended on very quietly.

When ſupper was over, and the tables removed, the king remained in the hall, among the Engliſh and French knights, bareheaded, except a chaplet of fine pearls, which was round his head. He converſed with all of them; but, when he came to ſir Geoffry de Chargny, his countenance altered, and

looking at him aſkance, he ſaid, 'Sir Geoffry, I have but little reaſon to love you, when you wiſhed to ſeize from me by ſtealth, laſt night, what had given me ſo much trouble to acquire, and has coſt me ſuch ſums of money. I am, however, rejoiced, to have caught you thus in attempting it. You were deſirous of gaining it cheaper than I did, and thought you could purchaſe it for twenty thouſand crowns; but, through God's aſſiſtance, you have been diſappointed.' He then paſſed on, and left ſir Geoffry ſtanding, without having a word to ſay for himſelf.

When he came to ſir Euſtace de Ribeaumont, he aſſumed a cheerful look, and ſaid, with a ſmile; 'Sir Euſtace, you are the moſt valiant knight in Chriſtendom, that I ever ſaw attack his enemy, or defend himſelf. I never yet found any one in battle, who, body to body, had given me ſo much to do as you have done this day. I adjudge to you the prize of valour, above all the knights of my court, as what is juſtly due to you.' The king then took off the chaplet, which was very rich and handſome, and, placing it on the head of ſir Euſtace, ſaid; 'Sir Euſtace, I preſent you with this chaplet, as being the beſt combatant this day, either within or without doors; and I beg of you to wear it this year, for love of me. I know that you are lively and amorous, and love the company of ladies and damſels; therefore, ſay wherever you go, that I gave it to you. I alſo give you your liberty, free of ranſom; and you may ſet out to-morrow, if you pleaſe, and go whither you will.'

In

In this ſame year, 1349, king Philip of France married his ſecond wife, at Brie-comte-Robert*, on Tueſday the 29th day of January. She was the lady Blanche, daughter of Philip king of Navarre, who had died in Spain, was very well beloved, and about eighteen years old.

On the 19th of the following February, which was Shrovetide, the duke of Normandy, eldeſt ſon of the king of France, was married at St. Genevieve, near St. Germain en Laye, to his ſecond wife, Jane counteſs of Boulogne: ſhe was the widow of the lord Philip, ſon of the duke of Burgundy, who died before Aiguillon, 1346. The counteſs was the daughter of earl William of Boulogne, by the daughter of Louis earl of Evreux, and held in her own right the duchy of Burgundy, the counties of Artois, Boulogne, and Auvergne, with many others.

ADDITIONS,

FROM TWO MSS. IN THE HAFOD LIBRARY, NOT IN ANY OF THE PRINTED COPIES.

YOU have heard related how the young earl Lewis of Flanders had been betrothed to the lady Iſabella, daughter of king Edward of England, and that afterwards he had eſcaped from Flanders into France, where he was joyfully received by the

* A market-town of Brie-Françaiſe, dioceſe and election of Paris, ſeven leagues from Paris.

king

king and his barons, who told him he had acted wifely, for that ſuch forced marriages were of no avail; and the king added, that he would otherwiſe ally him more to his honor and profit. Things remained in this ſtate for about a year.

Duke John of Brabant was not much diſpleaſed at this; for he was deſirous of marrying the young count of Flanders to his ſecond daughter, the eldeſt being counteſs of Hainault.

He ſent ambaſſadors to king Philip, to intreat he would conſent to the match between the count of Flanders and his daughter; that, if he conſented, he would in future be his good neighbour, and that neither he nor any of his children would ever bear arms again for the king of England.

The king of France, who knew the duke of Brabant to be a powerful lord, that could hurt or aſſiſt him according to his pleaſure, liſtened to his propoſal in preference to any other, and let the duke know, that if he could prevail on the ſtates of Flanders to conſent to this marriage, he would be agreeable to it, and would preſs it on the earl. The duke, in his anſwer, engaged for the conſent of the ſtates. He inſtantly ſent able commiſſioners to the principal towns, to negociate with them this marriage: he treated, as I may ſay, ſword in hand; for he gave them to underſtand, that if they married the young earl otherwiſe, he would inſtantly declare war againſt them; and on the contrary, if they complied with his deſire, he would unite himſelf ſtrongly with them, and defend them againſt any other lords.

The

The councils of the principal towns heard with attention the propoſals and promiſes the duke of Brabant, their neighbour, made them. They knew their young lord was not within their power, but under the direction of the king of France and the lady his mother, and that his heart was entirely French. Upon mature conſideration therefore, they thought, that as the duke of Brabant was a very powerful prince, and of great enterpriſe, it would be much more advantageous to conclude a match with him than with any one elſe; for by it they would enjoy peace, and have their lord again among them, which they very much deſired. The buſineſs was ſo well arranged that the young earl of Flanders was brought to the city of Arras, whither the duke of Brabant ſent his eldeſt ſon, the lord Godfrey earl of Mons, the earl of Los, and all his council. The principal towns of Flanders ſent thither alſo their magiſtrates. Many conferences were held; and the young earl and his countrymen engaged for his marriage with the daughter of the duke of Brabant, provided it were agreeable to the church. This had been already ſecured, and the diſpenſation from the pope was arrived. Not long after this, the young earl came to Flanders, where all due homage was paid him; and greater powers were granted to him than even his father, or any of his predeceſſors had enjoyed.

The earl married the duke's daughter; and, by the marriage-articles, the towns of Mechlin and Antwerp were to revert to the earl of Flanders, after the death of the duke; but this treaty was ſo ſecretly

ſecretly managed, that few heard of it. The duke gave ſo much to his daughter, that great wars were the conſequence between Flanders and Brabant in after times, as you will hear: but, as this is not as yet the ſubject-matter of my hiſtory, I ſhall briefly ſtate, that the king of England was ſorely vexed with all parties for this marriage: with the duke of Brabant, becauſe he was his couſin-german, and had carried off from his daughter the heir of Flanders, to whom ſhe had been betrothed; with the earl, becauſe he had broken his engagement with him, reſpecting his daughter. The duke ſent, however, very prudent and handſome apologies; as did afterwards the earl of Flanders.

ABOUT this period, there was much ill will between the king of England and the Spaniards, on account of ſome infractions and pillages committed at ſea by the latter. It happened at this ſeaſon, that the Spaniards who had been in Flanders with their merchandiſe, were informed they would not be able to return home, without meeting the Engliſh fleet. The Spaniards did not pay much attention to this intelligence: however, after they had diſpoſed of their goods, they amply provided their ſhips from Sluys with arms and artillery, and all ſuch archers, croſs-bowmen and ſoldiers as were willing to receive pay.

The king of England hated theſe Spaniards greatly, and ſaid publicly; 'We have for a long time

time ſpared theſe people; for which they have done us much harm; without amending their conduct: on the contrary, they grow more arrogant; for which reaſon they muſt be chaſtiſed as they re-paſs our coaſts.' His lords readily aſſented to this propoſal, and were eager to engage the Spaniards. The king therefore iſſued a ſpecial ſummons to all gentlemen who at that time might be in England, and left London.

He went to the coaſt of Suſſex, between Southampton and Dover, which lies oppoſite to Ponthieu and Dieppe, and kept his court in a monaſtery, whither the queen alſo came. At this time and place, that gallant knight, lord Robert de Namur, who was lately returned from beyond ſea, joined the king: he came juſt in time to be one of this armament; and the king was exceedingly pleaſed at his arrival. On finding that he was not too late to meet the Spaniards on their return, the king, with his nobles and knights, embarked on board his fleet; and he was never attended by ſo numerous a company in any of his former expeditions at ſea.

This ſame year the king created his couſin, Henry earl of Derby, duke of Lancaſter, and the baron of Stafford an earl, who were now both with him. The prince of Wales and John earl of Richmond were likewiſe on board the fleet: the laſt was too young to bear arms, but he had him on board becauſe he much loved him. There were alſo in this fleet, the earls of Arundel, Northampton, Hereford, Suffolk, and Warwick, the lord Reginald

Reginald Cobham, ſir Walter Manny, ſir Thomas Holland, ſir Lewis Beauchamp, ſir James Audley, ſir Bartholomew Burgherſh, the lords Percy, Mowbray, Neville, Roos, de *Difort*, de *Gaſtrode*, de *Berder*, and many others. There were four hundred knights; nor was he ever attended by a larger company of great lords. The king kept the ſea with his veſſels ready prepared for action, and to wait for the enemy, who was not long before he appeared. He kept cruiſing for three days between Dover and Calais.

WHEN the Spaniards had completed their cargoes, and laden their veſſels with linen cloths, and whatever they imagined would be profitable in their own country, they embarked on board their fleet at Sluys. They knew they ſhould meet the Engliſh, but were indifferent about it; for they had marvellouſly provided themſelves with all ſorts of warlike ammunition; ſuch as bolts for croſs-bows, cannons, and bars of forged iron to throw on the enemy, in hopes, with the aſſiſtance of great ſtones, to ſink him.

When they weighed anchor, the wind was favourable for them: there were forty large veſſels of ſuch a ſize, and ſo beautiful, it was a fine ſight to ſee them under ſail. Near the top of their maſts were ſmall caſtles, full of flints and ſtones, and a ſoldier to guard them; and there alſo was the flag-

ſtaff,

ſtaff, from whence fluttered their ſtreamers in the wind, that it was pleaſant to look at them. If the Engliſh had a great deſire to meet them, it ſeemed as if the Spaniards were ſtill more eager for it, as will hereafter appear. The Spaniards were full ten thouſand men, including all ſorts of ſoldiers they had enliſted when in Flanders: this made them feel ſufficient courage not to fear the combat with the king of England, and whatever force he might have at ſea.

Intending to engage the Engliſh fleet, they advanced with a favourable wind until they came oppoſite to Calais. The king of England being at ſea, had very diſtinctly explained to all his knights the order of battle he would have them follow: he had appointed the lord Robert de Namur to the command of a ſhip called La Salle du Roi, on board of which was all his houſehold. The king poſted himſelf in the fore part of his own ſhip: he was dreſſed in a black velvet jacket, and wore on his head a ſmall hat of beaver, which became him much. He was that day, as I was told by thoſe who were preſent, as joyous as he ever was in his life, and ordered his minſtrels to play before him a German dance which ſir John Chandos had lately introduced. For his amuſement, he made the ſame knight ſing with his minſtrels, which delighted him greatly. From time to time he looked up to the caſtle on his maſt, where he had placed a watch to inform him when the Spaniards were in ſight. Whilſt the king was thus amuſing himſelf with his knights, who were happy in ſeeing him ſo gay,

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the watch, who had obſerved a fleet, cried out, 'Ho, I ſpy a ſhip, and it appears to me to be a Spaniard.' The minſtrels were ſilenced; and he was aſked if there were more than one: ſoon after he replied, 'Yes; I ſee two, three, four, and ſo many that, God help me, I cannot count them.' The king and his knights then knew they muſt be the Spaniards. The trumpets were ordered to ſound, and the ſhips to form a line of battle for the combat; as they were aware that, ſince the enemy came in ſuch force, it could not be avoided. It was, however, rather late, about the hour of veſpers. The king ordered wine to be brought, which he and his knights drank; when each fixed their helmets on their heads. The Spaniards now drew near: they might eaſily have refuſed the battle, if they had choſen it, for they were well freighted, in large ſhips, and had the wind in their favour. They could have avoided ſpeaking with the Engliſh, if they had willed, but their pride and preſumption made them act otherwiſe. They diſdained to ſail by, but bore inſtantly down on them, and commenced the battle.

WHEN the king of England ſaw from his ſhip their order of battle, he ordered the perſon who managed his veſſel, ſaying, 'Lay me alongſide the Spaniard who is bearing down on us; for I will have a tilt with him.' The maſter dared not diſobey the king's order, but laid his ſhip ready for the

the Spaniard, who was coming full ſail. The king's ſhip was large and ſtiff; otherwiſe ſhe would have been ſunk, for that of the enemy was a great one, and the ſhock of their meeting was more like the craſh of a torrent or tempeſt: the rebound cauſed the caſtle in the king's ſhip to encounter that of the Spaniard; ſo that the maſt of the latter was broken, and all in the caſtle fell with it into the ſea, when they were drowned. The Engliſh veſſel, however, ſuffered, and let in water, which the knights cleared, and ſtopped the leak, without telling the king any thing of the matter. Upon examining the veſſel he had engaged lying before him, he ſaid; 'Grapple my ſhip with that; for I will have poſſeſſion of her.' His knights replied; 'Let her go her way; you ſhall have better than her.' That veſſel ſailed on, and another large ſhip bore down, and grappled with chains and hooks to that of the king. The fight now began in earneſt, and the archers and croſs-bows on each ſide were eager to ſhoot and defend themſelves.

The battle was not in one place, but in ten or twelve at a time. Whenever either party found themſelves equal to the enemy, or ſuperior, they inſtantly grappled, when grand deeds of arms were performed. The Engliſh had not any advantage; and the Spaniſh ſhips were much larger and higher than their opponents, which gave them a great ſuperiority in ſhooting and caſting ſtones and iron bars on board their enemy, which annoyed them exceedingly. The knights on board the king's ſhip were in danger of ſinking, for the leak ſtill admitted

water: this made them more eager to conquer the veſſel they were grappled to: many gallant deeds were done; and at laſt they gained the ſhip, and flung all they found in it overboard, having quitted their own ſhip. They continued the combat againſt the Spaniards, who fought valiantly, and whoſe croſs-bowmen ſhot ſuch bolts of iron as greatly diſtreſſed the Engliſh.

THIS ſea-fight, between the Engliſh and Spaniards, was well and hardly fought: but, as night was coming on, the Engliſh exerted themſelves to do their duty well, and diſcomfit their enemies. The Spaniards, who are uſed to the ſea, and were in large ſhips, acquitted themſelves to the utmoſt of their power. The young prince of Wales and his diviſion were engaged a-part: his ſhip was grappled by a great Spaniard, when he and his knights ſuffered much; for ſhe had ſo many holes, that the water came in very abundantly, and they could not by any means ſtop the leaks, which gave the crew fears of her ſinking, they therefore did all they could to conquer the enemy's ſhip, but in vain; for ſhe was very large, and excellently well defended.

During this danger of the prince, the duke of Lancaſter came near, and, as he approached, ſaw he had the worſt of the engagement, and that his crew had too much on their hands, for they were baling out water: he therefore fell on the other

ſide of the Spaniſh veſſel, with which he grappled, ſhouting, 'Derby, to the reſcue!' The engagement was now very warm, but did not laſt long, for the ſhip was taken, and all the crew thrown overboard, not one being ſaved. The prince, with his men, inſtantly embarked on board the Spaniard; and ſcarcely had they done ſo when his own veſſel ſunk, which convinced them of the imminent danger they had been in.

THE engagement was in other parts well conteſted by the Engliſh knights, who exerted themſelves, and need there was of it, for they found thoſe who feared them not. Late in the evening, the Salle du Roi, commanded by lord Robert de Namur, was grappled by a large Spaniard, and the fight was very ſevere. The Spaniards were determined to gain this ſhip; and, the more effectually to ſucceed in carrying her off, they ſet all their ſails, took advantage of the wind, and, in ſpite of what lord Robert and his crew could do, towed her out of the battle: for the Spaniard was of a more conſiderable ſize than the lord Robert's ſhip, and therefore ſhe more eaſily conquered. As they were thus towed, they paſſed near the king's ſhip, to whom they cried out, 'Reſcue the Salle du Roi,' but were not heard; for it was dark; and, if they were heard, they were not reſcued. The Spaniards would have carried away with eaſe this prize, if it had not been for a gallant act of one Hanequin, a

ſervant to the lord Robert, who, with his drawn ſword on his wriſt, leaped on board the enemy, ran to the maſt, and cut the large cable which held the main ſail, by which it became unmanageable; and with great agility, he cut other four principal ropes, ſo that the ſails fell on the deck, and the courſe of the ſhip was ſtopped. Lord Robert, ſeeing this, advanced with his men, and, boarding the Spaniard ſword in hand, attacked the crew ſo vigorouſly, that all were ſlain or thrown overboard, and the veſſel won.

I CANNOT ſpeak of every particular circumſtance of this engagement. It laſted a conſiderable time; and the Spaniards gave the king of England and his fleet enough to do. However, at laſt, victory declared for the Engliſh: the Spaniards loſt fourteen ſhips; the others ſaved themſelves by flight*.

When

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* 'Anno Gratiæ milleſimo treceſimo quinquageſimo, qui eſt annus regni regis Edwardi à conqueſtu tertii viceſſimus quartus, commiſſum eſt bellum navale inter Anglicos et Hiſpanos quarto calendas Septembris. Edwardus nempe rex Angliæ cum paucis navibus obviavit navigio Hiſpaniæ, viris bellicoſis refertiſſimo juxta Winchelſee. Et facto atrociſſimo conflictu, multi læſi ſunt ex utraque parte. Nam tam fervens erat bellum, tam crebra vulnera inflicta ex omni parte, quod ab illo prælio vix aliquis evaſit illæſus. Demum (Deo volente) victoria ceſſit Anglis. Captæ ſunt ibi igitur 26 naves magnæ, reliquis ſubmerſis, vel in fugam verſis. In hoc conflictu dum Hiſpani timidi et ſuperbi, atque fidentes

When it was completely over, and the king ſaw he had none to fight with, he ordered his trumpets to ſound a retreat, and made for England. They anchored at Rye and Winchelſea a little after night-fall, when the king, the prince of Wales, the duke of Lancaſter, the earl of Richmond and other barons diſembarked, took horſes in the town, and rode to the manſion where the queen was, ſcarcely two Engliſh leagues diſtant. The queen was mightily rejoiced on ſeeing her lord and children: ſhe had ſuffered that day great affliction from her doubts of ſucceſs; for her attendants had ſeen from the hills of the coaſt the whole of the battle, as the weather was fine and clear, and had told the queen, who was very anxious to learn the number of the enemy, that the Spaniards had forty large ſhips: ſhe was therefore much comforted by their ſafe return.

The king, with thoſe knights who had attended him, paſſed the night in revelry with the ladies, converſing of arms and amours. On the morrow the greater part of his barons, who had been in this engagement, came to him: he greatly thanked them all for the ſervices they had done him, before he diſmiſſed them, when they took their leave, and returned every man to his home.

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fidentes in robore ſuo et ſtrenuitate, dedignantur ſe reddere juſſu regis Edwardi, omnes miſerabiliter perierunt, alii ferro cæſi, alii aquis ſubmerſi.' THO. WALSINGHAM, *Hiſt. Angliæ*, p. 169.

Stowe ſays, that 'Edward returned triumphant, but bewailing the loſs of ſir Richard Goldeſborough.'—Page 250.

YOU have before heard how Aymery de Pavie had plotted to ſurrender the town and caſtle of Calais, for a ſum of florins, to the French, and how it befel them: that ſir Geoffry de Chargny and the knights with him were made priſoners, and carried to England, whence they ranſomed themſelves as ſoon as they could pay the money, and returned to France. It happened, that, during the time he was at St. Omer by order of the king of France, he heard that Aymery de Pavie was at a caſtle in the country near Calais, called Fretun, which the king of England had given him. The Italian lived there at his eaſe with a beautiful Engliſhwoman whom he had brought thither as his miſtreſs; and he fancied the French had forgotten his courteſy to them: but that was not the caſe, as you ſhall hear. As ſoon as ſir Geoffry received this information, he ſecretly inquired from thoſe of the country who knew this caſtle, if it could eaſily be taken: they aſſured him it might; for that ſir Aymery lived there without any ſuſpicion, and without guards or watch, thinking himſelf as ſafe as if he were in London or Calais. Sir Geoffry did not let the matter ſleep, but, collecting privately a band of men at arms, left St. Omer in an evening, taking with him the croſs-bows that were quartered there, and marched all night, when, at day-break, he arrived at the caſtle of Fretun. They inſtantly ſurrounded the caſtle, as

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it was not of any ſize, and, having entered the ditch, paſſed through. The ſervants, awakened by the noiſe, ran to their maſter, who was aſleep, and ſaid, 'My lord, riſe inſtantly; for the caſtle is ſurrounded by a large body of men at arms, who are forcing their way into it.' Aymery was much alarmed, and roſe as ſpeedily as he could; but notwithſtanding his haſte, he could not arm himſelf before his court-yard was filled with ſoldiers. He was thus made priſoner with his miſtreſs; but nothing was pillaged in the caſtle, on account of the exiſting truce between France and England; and beſides ſir Geoffry only wanted to take Aymery. He was greatly pleaſed with his ſucceſs, and carried ſir Aymery to St. Omer, where he did not ſuffer him to languiſh in priſon, but had him put to death, with much cruelty, in the market-place of St. Omer, in the preſence of the knights and common people of the country, who had been ſent for thither. Thus died ſir Aymery de Pavie; but his miſtreſs eſcaped, for his death freed her, and ſhe afterwards attached herſelf to a ſquire of France.

THIS year of our Lord 1349, there came from Germany, perſons who performed public penitencies by whipping themſelves with ſcourges having iron hooks, ſo that their backs and ſhoulders were torn: they chaunted alſo, in a piteous manner, canticles of the nativity and ſufferings of our Saviour,

and could not, by their rules, remain in any town more than one night: they travelled in companies of more or less in number, and thus journeyed through the country performing their penitence for thirty-three days, being the number of years JESUS CHRIST remained on earth, and then returned to their own homes. These penitencies were thus performed, to intreat the Lord to restrain his anger, and withhold his vengeance; for, at this period, an epidemic malady ravaged the earth, and destroyed a third part of its inhabitants. They were chiefly done in those countries the most afflicted, whither scarcely any could travel, but were not long continued, as the church set itself against them. None of these companies entered France: for the king had strictly forbidden them, by desire of the pope, who disapproved of such measures, by sound and sensible reasons, but which I shall pass over. All clerks, or persons holding livings, that countenanced them were excommunicated, and several were forced to go to Rome to purge themselves.

About this time, the Jews throughout the world were arrested and burnt, and their fortunes seized by those lords under whose jurisdictions they had lived, except at Avignon, and the territories of the church dependent on the pope. Each poor Jew, when he was able to hide himself, and arrive in that country, esteemed himself safe. It was prophesied, that for one hundred years people were to come, with iron scourges, to destroy them: and this would now have been the case, had not these penitents

tents been checked in their mad career, as has been related*.

CHAP.

* Here end the additions. I cannot help ſuppoſing there muſt have been more; for Froiſſart would certainly have particularly mentioned this ſad calamity of the plague, that afflicted all Europe, and he ſcarcely notices it.

It began in the ſpring of the year 1348, and came from Aſia. It deſtroyed in ſome parts the fourth, in others the third of their population: ſometimes it left not the tenth part. It carried off in Paris from 40 to 50,000, and in the little town of St. Denis 1600. There were ſometimes, at Paris, 800 burials in a day: and in the ſingle church-yard of the Charter-houſe, London, were buried 200 daily. It broke every bond of attachment aſunder: ſervants fled from their maſters, wives from their huſbands, and children from their parents. There were no laws in force: the greateſt exceſſes were committed; and, when the contagion was at an end, morals were found more corrupted.

I refer my readers to the different chronicles of the times, for more particular information. Lord Hailes dates its ravages in 1349, and ſays; 'The *great peſtilence*, which had long deſolated the continent, reached Scotland. The hiſtorians of all countries ſpeak with horror of this peſtilence. It took a wider range, and proved more deſtructive than any calamity of that nature known in the annals of mankind. Barnes, pp. 428—441, has collected the accounts given of this peſtilence by many hiſtorians; and hence he has, unknowingly, furniſhed materials for a curious inquiry into the populouſneſs of Europe in the fourteenth century.'

'The ſame cauſe which brought on this corruption of manners produced a new ſpecies of fanaticiſm. There appeared in Germany, England and Flanders numerous confraternities of penitents, who, naked to the girdle, dirty and filthy to look at, flogged themſelves in the public ſquares, chaunting a ridiculous canticle. Underneath are two ſtanzas of their canticle, conſiſting of nineteen in the whole. It is entire in a chro-

CHAP. CLI.

THE DEATH OF KING PHILIP, AND CORONATION OF HIS SON KING JOHN.

IN the beginning of Auguſt, in the year 1350, Raoul de Cahours*, and many other knights, and ſquires, to the number of one hundred and twenty

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chronicle belonging to M. Brequigny, which is the only one ſuppoſed to poſſeſs it.

'Or avant, entre nous tuit frere,
Battons nos charoigues bien fort,
En remembrant la grant miſere
De Dieu, et ſa piteuſe mort,
Qui fut pris de la gent amere,
Et venduz, et traîz à tort,
Et battu ſa char vierge et claire;
On nom de ce, battons plus fort.

O Roiz des roiz, char precieuſe,
Dieuz Pere, Filz, Sains Eſperis,
Vos ſaintiſme char glorieuſe,
Fut pendue en crois par Juîs
Et là fut grief et doloreuſe:
Quar vo douz ſaint ſanc beneic
Fit la croix vermeille et hideuſe,
Loons Dieu et battons noz pis.'

M. LEVESQUE, tom. i. pp. 530 531.

* Raoul de Cahours was of the Engliſh party, but, ined over by the magnificent promiſes of king John. He firſt changed his ſide at this battle, when he fought with the commander in Brittany, who had only one hundred men, and might have gained the day, if he had not been too raſh. King John, as a recompenſe, gave him 24,000 livres, and allowed him the poſſeſſion of the lands of Beauvoir, the iſland of

twenty men at arms, or thereabouts, combated with the commander for the king of England in Brittany, called ſir Thomas Daggeworth, before the caſtle of Aurai. Sir Thomas* and all his men were ſlain, to the amount of about one hundred men at arms.

On the 22d of Auguſt in the ſame year, king Philip of France departed this life at Nogent le Roi†, and was carried to Nôtre Dame in Paris. On the Thurſday following, his body was buried at St. Denis, on the left hand of the great altar; his bowels were interred at the Jacobins at Paris, and his heart at the convent of the Carthuſians at Bourg-fontaines in Valois.

The 26th day of September enſuing, John, eldeſt ſon of king Philip, was crowned king, on a Sunday, at Rheims. His wife, queen Jane, was alſo crowned at the ſame time.

The king, on this occaſion, made many knights. his eldeſt ſon, the dauphine of Vienne; his ſecond ſon, Louis earl of Alençon; the earl of Eſtampes; the lord John d'Artois; Philip duke of Orleans,

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of Chauvet, and other eſtates which he had ſeized from Jane de Belleville. Cahours engaged, in return, to deliver into the king's hands Vannes, Guerrande, Breſt, Hennebon, &c.—*Hiſt. de Bretagne.*

Raoul de Cahours was made commander in Poitou, by writ of privy ſeal, dated Eltham, 17th January 1347.—RYMER.

The 4th July 1346, the king grants him £1000. a-year, in Poitou, beſides other advantages.—*Idem.*

* Dugdale, in his Baronage, ſays he was ſlain through the treachery of the French.

† A town in Beauce, on the river Eure, five leagues from Chartres.

brother

brother to the king; the duke of Burgundy, ſon of the queen by her firſt marriage with the lord Philip of Burgundy; the earl of Dammartin, and many others. The king ſet out from Rheims on the Monday, and returned to Paris, by way of Laon, Soiſſons and Senlis. The king and queen made their public entry into Paris on a Sunday, the 17th of October. There were great feaſts, which laſted the whole week. The king remained at Paris at the hôtel de Neſle, or at the palace, until near Martinmas, when he aſſembled his parliament.

On Tueſday, the 16th day of November following, Raoul, earl of Eu and Guignes, conſtable of France, who was but lately returned from his priſon in England, was arreſted, by orders from the king, in the hôtel de Neſle*, where king John reſided, by the provoſt of Paris, and was detained in confinement in his hôtel, until the next Thurſday; when, about the hour of matins, he was there beheaded, in the preſence of the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Armagnac, the earl of Montfort, the lord John of Boulogne, the earl of Rueil, and many other knights, who attended the execution by command of the king, at that time in his palace. He was thus executed, for great treaſons, of which he had confeſſed himſelf guilty to the duke of Athens

* The hôtel de Neſle is now demoliſhed; and its ſituation would be unknown, were it not for a curious memoir reſpecting it, in the xxiiid vol. of the Memoires de l'Académie, by M. Bonamy, to which I refer the reader.

and

and ſome others. His body was buried in the Auguſtins at Paris, within the walls of the monaſtery, by permiſſion of the king, out of reſpect to the friends of the conſtable.*

In the month of the enſuing January, Charles of Spain, to whom the king had given the earldom of Angoulême, was appointed by him conſtable of France.

The lord Guy de Neſle, marſhal of France, had an engagement, on the 1ſt of April, in Saintonge, with the Engliſh and Gaſcons: the army of the marſhal was defeated: he himſelf was taken priſoner, with his brother the lord William, lord Arnold d'Andreghen, and many others.

On Palm Sunday, which was the 10th of April 1351, Giles Rigault de Rouſſy, who was abbot of

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* ' *De Dolo Regis Franciæ Johannis, &c.* '

' Comes de Ewe, conſtabularius Franciæ, qui in conflictu inter Anglicos & Normanos, anno Domini milleſimo. cccmo. XLVIto. apud Cadamum habito, captus fuit, & tunc miſſus in Angliam, per III. annos & amplius ibidem remanſerat ſub carcerali cuſtodia mancipatus, circiter feſtum Sancti Michaëlis, anno Domini milleſimo. cccmo. LIIIo. licenciatus per regem Anglorum loca ſua in partibus Franciæ viſitare, Pariſios venit ad novum Franciæ regem Johannem, utique ſtatura magnum & diſcretum, minus tamen gracioſum, & fama publica referente libidine plenum, ab uxore propria divertentem, fornicariiſque tam ſecularibus quam religioſis eciam inceſtuoſe turpiter adhærentem, à paucis ſuis magnatibus vel plebeis dilectum. Tunc idem rex, ſe amicum ipſius comitis ſimulans, & pacifice ſibi loquens, convivavit eundem. Sed ſtatim nocte ſequenti, miſſo ſpiculatore cum quibuſdam ſatellitibus ad hoſpicium dicti comitis, ipſum comitem fecit ſubito decollari.— AVESBURY, p. 187.

St.

St. Denis, and lately made a cardinal, was preſented with the red hat, in preſence of king John in his palace, by the biſhops of Laon and of Paris. This had never been done before; but the pope had directed it to be ſo, by a bull addreſſed to theſe biſhops.

In the following September, the French recovered the town of St. Jean d'Angely, of which the Engliſh had kept poſſeſſion for five years. It was ſurrendered by the garriſon without ſtriking a blow, and merely through want of proviſions.

In the month of October, the fraternity of the noble houſe of St. Ouen*, near Paris, was eſtabliſhed by order of the king. All thoſe who were of this order wore a ſtar on their hoods, and another on the front of their mantles†.

This year, there was the greateſt ſcarcity of proviſions all over the kingdom of France ever known in

* St. Ouen is a ſmall town in the iſle of France, dioceſe and election of Paris.

† Barnes ſays, that on the 8th September 1351, king John revived the almoſt obſolete order of the Star, in imitation of the Garter; and the firſt chapter of it was held at his palace of St. Ouen. At firſt there were but eighteen knights; the reſt were added at different chapters.

They wore a bright ſtar on the creſt of their helmets, and one pendant at their necks; and the ſame was embroidered on their mantles.

The day fixed for the annual celebration of this order was the Epiphany, and the ſtar choſen for the emblem.

The eighteen firſt knights were:

John king of France, ſovereign.

Philip duke of Orleans, his only brother.

Charles

in the memory of man. Wheat was ſold at Paris for eight livr. s pariſis* the ſeptier†: a ſeptier of oats for forty ſols pariſis, and a boiſſeau‡ of peaſe eight ſols, and other grains according to their value.

In this month of October, on the day of the celebration of the fraternity of St. Ouen, the Engliſh took the town of Guignes, notwithſtanding the truce: and in this year, the conſtable of France was married to the daughter of the lord Charles of Blois.

Charles of France, dauphin of Vienne,—Louis duke of Anjou—John duke of Berry,—Philip duke of Touraine,—king John's ſons.

Charles king of Navarre.

Peter duke of Bourbon,—James Bourbon count de la Marche,—brothers.

Charles de la Cerda of Spain, earl of Angoulême.

Arnold d'Andreghen,—John de Clermont,—marſhals of France.

Geoffry count de Chargny, great chamberlain of France.

Charles earl of Tancarville.

William de Brenne, duke of Athens, maſter of the horſe.

John of Artois, earl of Eu,—Charles of Artois, count de Longueville,—John viſcount de Melun, ſons of Robert d'Artois.

For more particulars, ſee Favine's Theatre d'Honneur.

* Cotgrave ſays, that a livre pariſis is 2s. 6d., and that ten ſols pariſis is equal to one ſhilling.

† A ſeptier of wheat, according to Cotgrave, weighs 240 pounds.

‡ A boiſſeau of wheat weighs 20 pounds.

CHAP.

CHAP. CLII.

THE KING OF NAVARRE CAUSES THE LORD CHARLES OF SPAIN, CONSTABLE OF FRANCE, TO BE MURDERED; WITH OTHER MATTERS.

IN the year 1352, on the eve of the feaſt of our Lady, the middle of Auguſt, the lord Guy de Neſle, lord of Offemont, at that time marſhal of France in Brittany, had an engagement, in which the marſhal was ſlain in battle, and alſo the lord of Briquebec, the baron of Beauvais, and many other nobles as well of the country of Brittany, as of other parts of France.

The 4th of September was the day appointed for the combat* at Paris, between the duke of Brunſwick and the duke of Lancaſter, for words which the duke of Lancaſter had ſpoken, and for which the duke of Brunſwick had ſummoned him to anſwer at the court of the king of France.

The two dukes came to the field completely armed; and entered the liſts which had been prepared for the German appellant, and the Engliſh reſpondent. As the Engliſh were at war with France, the duke of Lancaſter had come thither under a ſafe conduct from king John, to defend his honour. The king of France, however, would not permit them to fight; but, although they had

* See Dugdale's Baronage, for a more particular account of this duel, and of an end being put to it by the king of France, at the intreaty of the duke of Brunſwick, who, through cowardice, ſubmitted to his award.

armed

armed themſelves, and had taken the oaths, and were mounting their ſteeds, he took the buſineſs into his own hands, and made up the difference between them.

On the 6th day of December, pope Clement VI. died, at Avignon, in the eleventh year of his pontificate; and, on the 11th of the following month, a cardinal from Limoſin, ſtiled cardinal of Oſtia, but, becauſe he had been biſhop of Clermont, commonly called cardinal of Clermont, was elected pope, about the hour of ten in the morning, in his room. He took the title of Innocent VI. though his own proper name was ſir Stephen Aubert.

On the 6th day of January 1353, ſoon after daybreak, the lord Charles Navarre, earl of Evreux, cauſed the lord Charles of Spain, conſtable of France, to be murdered in his bed at an inn in the town of Aigle* in Normandy, by ſome men at arms whom he ſent there: he remained in a barn without the town, until they were returned to him after the performance of this deed. It was ſaid he was accompanied by the lord Philip of Navarre his brother, the lord Lewis de Harcourt, and lord Godfrey de Harcourt his uncle, and many other knights, as well from Navarre as from Normandy.

The king of Navarre and his company retreated to the city of Evreux, of which he was lord, proviſioned it, and added to the fortifications. With him went the above-mentioned Harcourts, the lord of Malue, John Maller lord of Graville, the lord

* Dioceſe of Evreux.

Almaury de Meulent, and many other noblemen of Normandy.

Shortly after, the king of Navarre went to Mantes: he had before ſent many letters ſealed, to different towns in the kingdom, to inform them that he had put to death the conſtable, for various evil deeds which the conſtable had done againſt him. He ſent the earl of Meaux to the king of France at Paris, on the ſame ſubject.

The king diſpatched to the king of Navarre at Mantes, the cardinal de Boulogne, the biſhop of Laon, the duke de Bourbon, the earl of Vendôme, and others, who entered into a treaty with the king of Navarre: foraſmuch as he had married the king's ſiſter, the mere pardon of the king for this crime would not ſatisfy him; but he required of the king, his lord, many other things. Every one in France imagined that a war was unavoidable, between the two kings; for the king of Navarre had made many alliances, collected troops in different places, and had victualled and fortified his towns and caſtles. At laſt, however, after many treaties, there was one agreed to, of which the following are ſome of the principal points.

The king of France was to give the king of Navarre thirty-eighty thouſand livres tournois, on account of an annuity which the king of Navarre received from the treaſury of Paris, in lieu of lands which, according to an agreement made between their royal predeceſſors, were to be aſſigned to him, for the county of Champagne, as well as on account of his marriage with the king of France's daughter,

daughter, when he was promiſed as much land as would amount to twelve thouſand livres a-year. The king of Navarre wiſhed to have the lordſhip of Beaumont le Roger*, the lands of Bretcuil† in Normandy, Conches‡, and Orbec§, the viſcounty of Pont-au-demer‖, and the bailiwick of Coutantin: which were acceded to by the king of France, though the four firſt lands belonged to Philip duke of Orleans, the king's brother, and he gave him other eſtates in lieu of them. The king conſented alſo, for the ſake of peace, that all the Harcourts and his other allies ſhould hold from him, as their lord, all lands dependant on Navarre, in whatever part of France they might be ſituated; and it was at their option to do him, if they pleaſed, homage for them. The king of Navarre obtained alſo, that theſe lands, and thoſe he poſſeſſed before, ſhould be holden by him as a peerage: and he had the power to hold, twice a-year, a court of exchequer as nobly as the duke of Normandy.

The king of France conſented to pardon all who had been concerned in the death of the conſtable, and promiſed, upon his oath, that neither now nor hereafter would he ſeek to do them hurt for this act. The king of Navarre, in addition, received

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* A market-town in Normandy, on the Rille, dioceſe of Evreux.

† Election of Conches.

‡ A market-town in Normandy, dioceſe of Evreux.

§ A town of Normandy, dioceſe of Liſieux.

‖ Pont-au-demer,—a town in Normandy, dioceſe of Liſieux, ſeventeen leagues from Caen.

from the king of France a large ſum in golden crowns; and, before he would come to Paris, he made the king ſend him, by way of hoſtage, the earl of Anjou, his ſecond ſon.

When he came to Paris, he was attended by a numerous body of men at arms. The 4th day of March following, he came to the chamber of parliament, where the king was ſitting, attended by many peers of France, the parliament, and ſome of his council: the cardinal of Boulogne was there alſo. The king of Navarre beſought the king of France to pardon him the death of the conſtable, alledging that he had good reaſons for ſo doing, which he offered then to lay before the king, or at any other time. He ſwore he had not done it out of any contempt to the king of France, or to the office of conſtable, and he added, that he ſhould not feel any thing ſo much, as to be thought he had incurred the anger of the king. Upon this, the lord James de Bourbon, conſtable of France, by order of the king, gave his hand to the king of Navarre, and drew him aſide.

Shortly after, the queen Joan, aunt to the king of Navarre, and queen Blanche, his ſiſter; the firſt of whom had been the wife of Charles le Bel, and the laſt of king Philip, lately deceaſed; came into the preſence of the king, and made a low reverence: ſir Reginald de Trie, falling on his knees, ſaid; 'My moſt redoubted lord, here are my ladies the queens, Joan and Blanche, who have heard that my lord of Navarre is in your ill graces, and are much hurt at it. They beſeech you to have the goodneſs

goodneſs to pardon him; and, if it pleaſed God, he will for the future behave himſelf in ſuch a manner, that you and all the people of France ſhall be ſatisfied.'

The conſtable and the marſhals then went to ſeek the king of Navarre, who, coming again into the preſence of the king, placed himſelf between the two queens, when the cardinal ſpoke as follows: 'My lord of Navarre, no one ought to be ſurpriſed, if my lord the king of France is offended with you, for the crime you have committed. There is no occaſion for me to name it, for you have made it ſo public, by your letters and otherwiſe, that it is known to all. You are ſo much beholden to him, that you ought never to have done it: you are of his blood, and nearly related to him; beſides, you are his liege man, and one of his peers, and have alſo eſpouſed his daughter; therefore this deed is ſo much the more blameable. However, for the love and affection he bears my ladies the queens, here preſent, who have moſt earneſtly intreated him in your behalf; and, becauſe he believes you have committed this crime through bad adviſers, he pardons you heartily and willingly.'

The two queens, and the king of Navarre, upon this, fell on their knees, and thanked the king. The cardinal added, 'that in future if any one of the king's relations, or others, ſhould dare commit ſuch a crime as the king of Navarre had done, and even if it ſhould again happen, to the king's ſon, to inſult or injure the loweſt officer the king had,

he ſhould infallibly be puniſhed.' Upon this, the court broke up*.

The 22d of March, a knight-banneret of the low marches, called ſir Reginald de Preſſigny, lord of Marans near la Rochelle, was drawn and hanged on a gibbet, by orders of the parliament and many of the great council of the king.

On the 4th of Auguſt 1354, the king of France was reconciled to the earl of Harcourt and the lord Lewis his brother, who were, as it was then ſaid, to reveal to him many things of conſequence, eſpecially all that related to the death of the conſtable.

In the following month of September, the cardinal de Boulogne ſet out from Paris to go to Avignon, and, it was commonly reported, not in the good graces of the king: howbeit, during the ſpace of a year that he had remained in France, he had lived as well with the king as any other courtier.

About this time, lord Robert de Lorris, chamberlain to the king of France, ſuddenly quitted the kingdom. It was ſaid, that, had he been taken, he would have ſuffered, for having revealed to the king of Navarre the ſecrets of the king of France,

* The cauſe of the murder of Charles d'Eſpagne, conſtable of France, by Charles le Mauvais, was the oppoſition the conſtable made to the pretenſions of the king of Navarre to the counties of Champagne, Brie, and to the duchy of Burgundy.—See Ferrera's Hiſt. of Spain, vol. v. pp. 276, 277.

in the like manner as the Harcourts had done to the king of France.

The king of Navarre, in the month of November, ſet out from Normandy, and paſſed through divers places, amuſing himſelf until he came to Avignon, and from thence went to Navarre. And in this month the archbiſhop of Rouen, chancellor of France, and the duke of Bourbon ſet off for Avignon; as did the duke of Lancaſter, and others of the Engliſh, in order to hold a conference touching a peace between the two kings.

This ſame month the king of France left Paris, and went into Normandy as far as Caen. He took poſſeſſion of all the lands belonging to the king of Navarre, and appointed new officers and garriſons in all the caſtles belonging to him, except ſix, viz. Evreux, Pont-au-demer, Cherbourg, Gavrey*, Avranches†, Mortain‡, which were garriſoned by men from Navarre, who would not ſurrender themſelves, but anſwered thoſe ſent to them from the king of France, that they would not give them up ſave to their lord, the king of Navarre, who had put them under their guard.

In the month of January, the lord Robert de Lorris returned to Paris, by a paſſport from the king, where he remained a fortnight without having permiſſion to ſee him; and, when he was admitted to his preſence, he was not fully reconciled: he

* A market-town in Normandy, four leagues from Coutances.

† A town in Normandy,—a biſhop's ſee.

‡ A town in Normandy,—dioceſe of Avranches.

therefore, by the advice of the king s council, returned to Avignon, that he might be preſent during the conferences.

Towards the end of February, news was brought, that the truce which would expire in April, between the kings of France and England, had been prolonged by the pope to the nativity of St. John the Baptiſt, in order that he might find ſome means of making a permanent peace; and that the commiſſioners from each king had conſented to it. The pope ſent ambaſſadors to the kings, reſpecting another mode of carrying on the treaty than what had hitherto been practiſed.

This ſame month, the king of France coined florins of fine gold, which were called Lamb Florins, becauſe on the reverſe was the figure of a lamb. They were valued at fifty-two the marc*; and when they were coined, the king gave forty-eight for a marc of pure gold, and forbid the currency of any other florins.

This month, ſir Gaucher de l'Orme came to Paris, to the king of France, as ambaſſador from the king of Navarre: he returned the following March, carrying with him paſſports for the king of Navarre.

This year, about Shrovetide, many of the Engliſh advanced near to Nantes; and, by means of rope-ladders, about fifty-two of them got into and took the caſtle: but ſir Guy de Rochefort, who was the governor, and at that time in the town, attacked

* Eight ounces of gold, ſilver or bullion.

them

them ſo vigorouſly that he regained it that ſame night; and the fifty-two Engliſh were either ſlain or taken priſoners.

King John, about Eaſter 1355, ſent his eldeſt ſon, Charles dauphin of Vienne, into Normandy, as his lieutenant, where he remained all the ſummer; and the province granted him three thouſand men at arms for three months.

In the month of Auguſt following, the king of Navarre landed at the caſtle of Cherbourg, and with him ten thouſand men, including every one. There were many treaties begun between thoſe attached to the king of France and thoſe belonging to the king of Navarre: each ſent reſpectively ambaſſadors to the other.

The king of Navarre's garriſons in Evreux and Pont-au-demer plundered all the country thereabout: ſome of them advanced to the caſtle of Conches, which at that time was in king John's hands, took it, and filled it well with proviſions and men at arms. Several other acts of hoſtility were done by the men of Navarre againſt the ſubjects of the king of France. At laſt, peace was made; and the king of Navarre then went to the dauphin of Vienne, in the caſtle of Verneuil*, who conducted him to the good city of Paris.

On the 24th day of September, they both came to the king, who then reſided at the caſtle of the Louvre at Paris: and, when admitted to his pre-

* Verneuil,—a city of Normandy, twenty-nine leagues and a half from Paris.

fence, the king of Navarre made his reverence before the many nobles who were there aſſembled. He excuſed himſelf very honourably for having quitted the realm, and added, that he had heard ſome had found fault with his conduct towards the king: he therefore requeſted the king would name thoſe who had done ſo: for he ſwore that, ſince the death of the conſtable, he had done nothing againſt the king of France but what a loyal ſubject ſhould and ought to do. Nevertheleſs, he beſought the king of France, that he would pardon all that was paſſed, and admit him to his favour. He promiſed that in future he would be as good and loyal as a ſon ought to be to a father, or a vaſſal to his lord. The king informed him, through the duke of Athens, that he forgave every thing heartily.

CHAP. CLIII.

THE TAX OF THE GABELLE* IMPOSED THROUGHOUT FRANCE, BY THE THREE ESTATES, ON ACCOUNT OF THE WAR.

THE prince of Wales went into Gaſcony ſome time in the month of October 1355, and advanced as far as Toulouſe, where he croſſed the Garonne,

* The Gabelle is a tax upon ſalt. All perſons in France before the Revolution in 1789, when it was aboliſhed, were obliged to pay a certain ſum for ſalt, whether they uſed any or not. This neceſſary article was monopolized by contractors, who enriched themſelves at the public expence. It is

Garonne, and went to Carcaſſonne*. He burnt the ſuburbs, but could do nothing to the town, as it was well defended. He then marched to Narbonne† burning and deſtroying the country, and, in the month of November, returned to Bourdeaux with great plunder and a multitude of priſoners, without having met with any oppoſition, notwithſtanding that the earl of Armagnac, the king of France's lieutenant in Languedoc, was at that time in the country, as well as the lord of Foix, the lord James de Bourbon, lord of Ponthieu and conſtable of France, and the lord John de Clermont, marſhal of France, with a more numerous army than that of the prince of Wales.

The king of England landed at Calais in the month of October of this year, and marched to

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is ſingular, that in almoſt all countries there has been levied a tax on this article of abſolute neceſſity, when it could be eaſily demonſtrated, that a moſt trifling capitation-tax would produce a larger ſum than this very oppreſſive impoſt: the poor would be relieved, agriculture and the fiſheries would be extended to an unbounded degree of perfection. This tax preſſes moſt ſeverely on the Welſh peaſantry, and on the inhabitants of the weſtern and northern parts of Britain, where they cannot profit from the bounties of Providence, in the vaſt ſhoals of fiſh on their coaſts, by the vexations of this impolitic duty.

It was firſt impoſed by Philippe le Long; and, I believe, at this period (1802) it has been re-impoſed in France.

* A conſiderable town in Languedoc, twenty-three leagues from Toulouſe.

† A large city in Languedoc, an archbiſhoprick, thirty-ſeven leagues from Toulouſe.

Heſdin,

Hefdin*, where he deſtroyed the outworks, and burnt the houſes within them; but he did not enter the town or caſtle.

The king of France, on hearing this news of the Engliſh, iſſued out his ſummons for an army to aſſemble at Amiens, and marched towards the king of England, who had retreated to Calais.

The king of France advanced as far as St. Omer, whence he ſent to inform the king of England, by the marſhal d'Authain, and many other knights, that he was willing to give him battle, either in ſingle combat, or with his army, any day he would chooſe to name; but the king of England refuſed the combat, and croſſed the ſea for England. The king of France returned to Paris.

In this ſame year, about St. Andrew's day, the king of France ſummoned all the prelates, chapters, barons, and citizens of the principal towns, to Paris, when he laid before them, through his chancellor, in the chamber of parliament, the ſtate of the war, and requeſted of them to conſult together on what aids they could grant that ſhould be ſufficient to enable him to carry it on. And becauſe the king had heard that his ſubjects complained of being much aggrieved by the alteration in the coin, he offered to coin money that ſhould be good and weighty, if they would grant him other ſupplies ſufficient to enable him to purſue the war. Upon which they anſwered, that is to ſay, the clergy

* A ſtrong town in Artois, on the Canche, twenty-two leagues from Calais.

by

by the mouth of the archbiſhop of Rheims, the nobles by the duke of Athens, and the citizens by Stephen Marcel, provoſt of merchants in the good town of Paris, that they were willing to live or die for him, and offered him the diſpoſal of their lives and fortunes, requiring only a little time to deliberate together. This requeſt was willingly complied with.

The king of France gave this year, on the vigil of the feaſt of the conception of the Virgin Mary, the duchy of Normandy to his eldeſt ſon the dauphin of Vienne, earl of Poitiers; and, on the morrow, he did homage for it.

After the three eſtates had deliberated, they replied to the king of France, in the chamber of parliament, by the aforementioned perſons, that they would grant him an army of thirty thouſand men, to be maintained by them for one year; and in order to have the fund for paying this, which was eſtimated at fifty thouſand livres pariſis*, the three eſtates ordered that there ſhould be levied upon all perſons, whatever their ſtate may be, churchmen, nobles or others, a tax of eight deniers pariſis per pound, on all ſorts of proviſions; and that the tax upon ſalt ſhould be eſtabliſhed throughout France. But, as it was not known if this tax, and the extenſion of the gabelle would be ſufficient, it was ordered that the three eſtates ſhould remain in Paris, to ſee and examine the reſult of this tax, and that on the

* My two MSS. ſay 'cinquante *cent* mille livres,' which appears moſt probable from the ſeverity of the tax.

1ſt of March following they ſhould again aſſemble; which was done, except by ſome of the nobles and citizens from the chief towns in Picardy, and many other towns in Normandy. Thoſe who had examined the receipt of the taxes were alſo there; and upon their information that it was not ſufficient, a new ſubſidy was reſolved on: and it was ordered, that all manner of perſons, of the blood royal or not, prieſt or layman, monk or nun, privileged or unprivileged, innkeepers, heads of churches, who poſſeſſed rents, or revenues from offices or adminiſtrations, widows as well as thoſe who held eſtates in their own right, children, married or not, who had any fortune in the hands of truſtees or otherwiſe; coiners, and all others who had formerly been exempted from taxation, and who were poſſeſſed of one hundred livres a-year, or under, whether by inheritance, annuity, wages or penſion for life, ſhould pay a ſubſidy of four livres, to defray the expenſe of the war: thoſe of forty livres a-year, and under, to pay forty ſols: ten livres a-year, and upward, twenty ſols: and under ten livres a-year, children, whether in wardſhip or upwards of fifteen years old, labourers and workmen gaining their livelihood by work, ſhould pay ten ſols: if they had any fortune beſide what they acquired by labour, they were to pay as the others. Servants and all who worked for hire, ſo that they gained a hundred ſols, and upwards, a-year, were alſo to pay ten ſols. The ſol was to be taken as the ſol pariſis, in thoſe parts where this mode of reckoning was uſual, and as the ſol tournois in the other parts.

Thoſe

Thoſe ſervants who did not gain more than the exact ſum of one hundred ſols a-year, or under, were to pay nothing; but, if they had any equivalent fortune, they were to pay according to the rate of the others.

None of the mendicant monks, nor thoſe in cloiſters without office or adminiſtration, nor children under the age of fifteen, without any property, were to pay to this ſubſidy.

Nuns were alſo exempted, who had not any income exceeding ten livres. Wives paid nothing, becauſe their huſbands were taxed, and their fortunes would be reckoned as part of their huſbands.

With regard to the clergy, whether they were prelates, abbots, priors, canons, curates, or others who poſſeſſed upwards of one hundred livres a-year, by benefices, or inheritance from the holy church, or by both, and extending to five thouſand livres a-year, they were to pay four livres for the firſt hundred livres, and forty ſols for every other hundred of the five thouſand. No farther aid was to be required from any ſum above five thouſand livres. The revenues of the benefices were to be eſtimated by the tax of the tenth penny, and no one was to be allowed to claim any privileges from their tenths, if they had been once granted.

With regard to the nobility, and citizens of the chief towns, who had upwards of one hundred livres a-year: the nobles were to be taxed as far as five thouſand livres of rent, and forty ſols for every hundred livres, beſides the four livres for the firſt hundred. The inhabitants of the towns in the ſame manner,

manner, as far as one thouſand livres a-year. As for the furniture of thoſe noblemen who did not poſſeſs a hundred livres a-year, it was to be valued as high as one thouſand livres, and no higher; and for thoſe who were not noble, and had not four hundred livres a-year, their furniture was to be valued as far as four thouſand livres, that is to ſay, at the rate of one hundred livres for every ten livres of rent; and they were to pay the tax in the manner above ſpecified. If it ſhould happen that any nobleman poſſeſſed but juſt the rental of one hundred livres, and his furniture of no higher value than one thouſand livres; or that any one, not noble, had a rental of four hundred livres, and furniture to the amount of four thouſand livres, then their rentals and furniture ſhould be entered together, as high to the nobleman as one thouſand livres, and to others as far as four thouſand livres, and no more.

On Saturday, the 5th of March 1356, there was a diſſenſion in the town of Arras, between the higher and lower ranks of inhabitants: the lower ſort killed, that day, ſeventeen of the higher rank in the town. On the Monday following, they murdered four others, and baniſhed many more; ſo that they remained maſters of the town of Arras.

CHAP.

CHAP. CLIV.

THE KING OF FRANCE ARRESTS THE KING OF NAVARRE, AND ORDERS THE EARL OF HARCOURT AND OTHERS TO BE BEHEADED AT ROUEN.

THE king of France, on Tuesday the 5th of April, which was the Tuesday after midlent Sunday, set out early completely armed, from Mainville*, attended by about one hundred lances. There were with him his son the earl of Anjou, his brother the duke of Orleans, the lord John d'Artois, earl of Eu, the lord Charles his brother, cousin-germans to the king, the earl of Tancarville, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, marshal of France, and many other barons and knights.

They rode straight for the castle of Rouen, by a back way, without passing through the town, and on entering found, in the hall of the castle, Charles duke of Normandy, Charles king of Navarre, John earl of Harcourt, the lords de Preaux, de Clerc, de Graville, and some others seated at dinner. The king immediately ordered them all, except the dauphin, to be arrested, as also sir William and sir Louis de Harcourt, brothers to the earl, the lord Fricquet de Friquart, the lord de Tournebeu, the lord Manbué de Mamesnars, two squires called

* Mainville,—a market town in Vexin Normandy, in the election of Gisors.

Oliver Doublet and John de Vaubatu, and many others. He had them ſhut up in different rooms in the caſtle; and his reaſon for ſo doing was, that, ſince the reconciliation made on occaſion of the death of the conſtable of France, the king of Navarre had conſpired and done many things contrary to the honor of the king, and the good of his realm: the earl of Harcourt had alſo uſed many injurious expreſſions in the caſtle of Vaudreuil*, when an aſſembly was holden there to grant a ſubſidy to the king of France againſt the ſaid king, in order to prevent, as much as lay in his power, the ſubſidy from being agreed to. The king, after this, ſat down to dinner, and afterwards, mounting his horſe, rode, attended by all his company, to a field behind the caſtle, called the Field of Pardon. The king then ordered the earl of Harcourt, the lord of Graville, the lord Maubué and Oliver Doublet to be brought thither in two carts: their heads were cut off, and their bodies dragged to the gibbet at Rouen, where they were hung, and their heads placed upon the gibbet.

In the courſe of that day and the morrow, the king ſet at liberty all the other priſoners, except three: Charles king of Navarre, who was conducted to priſon in the Louvre at Paris, and afterwards to the Châtelet: ſome of the king's council were appointed as a guard over him. Friquet and Vaubatu were alſo confined in the Châtelet.

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* Vaudreuil,—a ſmall town of Normandy, dioceſe of Evreux, ſix leagues from Rouen.

Philip

Philip of Navarre, however, kept poſſeſſion of ſeveral caſtles which the king his brother had in Normandy, and, when the king of France ſent him orders to ſurrender them, refuſed to obey, but in conjunction with the lord Godfrey de Harcourt and other enemies of France, raiſed forces in the country of Coutantin, which they defended againſt the king's troops.

On Wedneſday after Eaſter 1356, ſir Arnold d'Andreghen went to Arras, and there very prudently, and without the help of his ſoldiery, arreſted one hundred of thoſe who had put the town in a ſtate of rebellion, and who had murdered the citizens. On the morrow, he had twenty of them beheaded; and the reſt he kept in priſon until the king ſhould have ordered otherwiſe. By this means the town was rendered obedient to the king.

In the month of June following, the duke of Lancaſter landed in the country of Coutantin, and joined the lord Philip of Navarre and ſir Godfrey de Harcourt. They were about four thouſand combatants. They marched ſtrait for Liſieux, Orbec, and Pont-au-demer, where they reinforced the caſtle, which had been beſieged for upwards of two months. The lord Robert de Hotetot, captain of the croſs bowmen in France, who, with other nobles, had laid ſiege to it, broke it up as ſoon as he heard of the coming of the duke of Lancaſter, leaving behind him his machines and artillery, which were captured by thoſe of the caſtle. The duke and lord Philip made an excurſion as far as

Breteuil*, which they ſtrengthened, robbing and plundering the country through which they paſſed.

When they found that the city and caſtle of Evreux had lately ſurrendered to the king of France, who had for a length of time laid ſiege to it, and that the town and cathedral had been pillaged and burnt by the men of Navarre, who gave up the caſtle by capitulation, as well as by ſome of the king's forces, who were beſieging the town; the duke and lord Philip went forwards to Verneuil†, which town and caſtle they took and plundered: they alſo burnt part of the town.

The king of France, on hearing of the landing of the duke of Lancaſter, had iſſued out his orders for raiſing troops: he aſſembled a large body of men at arms and infantry, ſet out in purſuit of him, and, paſſing through Condé‡, made ſtraight for the town of Verneuil. He paſſed by l'Aigle§, and followed him to Tuboeuf, two leagues diſtant from l'Aigle. The king of France was then informed that he could not purſue him further; for there were immenſe foreſts in which his party could ſecrete themſelves: the king therefore returned, and came, with his whole army, before the caſtle of Thilliers‖ which they ſaid was in poſſeſſion of Navarre. He took it, and garriſoned it with his own people.

* A town in Normandy, election of Conches.

† A city in Normandy, twelve leagues from Evreux.

‡ A village in Normandy, in the election of Alençon.

§ A ſmall city in Normandy, dioceſe of Evreux, election of Verneuil.

‖ Thilliers is a village in Picardy, near Montdidier.

He

He afterwards came to the caſtle of Breteuil, which was defended for the king of Navarre. The king of France remained before this caſtle the ſpace of two months, when it was ſurrendered on capitulation, that the garriſon might go whither they pleaſed, and all they could carry with them.

CHAP. CLV.

THE KING OF FRANCE ISSUES OUT SUMMONS FOR ASSEMBLING AN ARMY TO COMBAT THE PRINCE OF WALES, WHO WAS OVERRUNNING THE PROVINCE OF BERRY.

WHEN king John of France had finiſhed his expedition, and had re-conquered all the towns and caſtles in lower Normandy which belonged to the king of Navarre, whom he detained in priſon, he returned to the city of Paris. He had not long been there before he heard that the prince of Wales with his whole army, had invaded his kingdom, and was faſt advancing towards the fertile country of Berry.

When this was told him, the king ſaid, with an oath, that he would immediately ſet out after him, and give him battle wherever he ſhould find him. He iſſued out a ſpecial ſummons, to all nobles and others who held fiefs under him, that they ſhould not, under any pretence whatever, abſent themſelves, without incurring his higheſt diſpleaſure, but, immediately on the receipt of theſe letters, ſet

out to meet him on the borders of Touraine and Blois; for he was determined to fight the Engliſh.

The king, to haſten the buſineſs, marched from Paris; for he had at this time a large body of men at arms in the field; and went to Chartres, to gain more certain intelligence of the enemy. He remained there ſome time, and great crowds of troops and men at arms came to him from the different countries of Auvergne, Berry, Burgundy, Lorraine, Hainault, Vermandois, Picardy, Brittany and Normandy. They paſſed through the town on their arrival, to ſhew their muſters, and took up their quarters in the fields, according to the orders of the two marſhals, the lord John de Clermont and lord Arnold d'Andreghen. The king gave orders for all the towns in Anjou, Poitou, Maine and Touraine, to be well garriſoned and provided with all things, eſpecially thoſe on the borders, by which it was hoped the Engliſh would paſs, that they might be incloſed, and cut off from any ſubſiſtence for themſelves and horſes. In ſpite of this, however, the prince, who had with him two thouſand men at arms and ſix thouſand archers, rode on at his eaſe, and collected every where proviſions in plenty. They found the country of Auvergne, which they had entered and overrun, very rich, and all things in great abundance; but they would not ſtop there, as they were deſirous of combating their enemies. They burnt and deſtroyed all the countries they paſſed through; and when they entered any town which was well proviſioned, they reſted there ſome days to refreſh themſelves, and

at

at their departure deſtroyed what remained, ſtaving the heads of wine caſks that were full, burning the wheat and oats, ſo that their enemies could not ſave any thing. They kept advancing, and found plenty every where; for the countries of Berry, Poitou, Touraine and Maine are very rich, and full of forage for men at arms.

The Engliſh advanced ſo far that they came to the good city of Bourges*, where there was a great ſkirmiſh at one of the gates. Two knights, the lord de Couſant and the lord Hutin de Memelles, had charge of the city. Many gallant deeds were performed; but the Engliſh left it without doing any damage, and went to Iſſodun†, where there was a ſtrong caſtle. They attacked it very briſkly, with their whole army, but they could not gain it; for the governor and the knights who were with him too valiantly defended themſelves. The Engliſh therefore paſſed on, and came to a large town and caſtle: the town, being weakly fortified and badly defended, was taken by ſtorm. They found there great plenty of wines and other proviſions, and remained three days to repoſe themſelves.

News was brought there to the prince of Wales, that the king of France was in the city of Chartres, with a very large army, and that all the paſſes and towns on that ſide of the Loire were ſecured, and ſo well guarded no one could croſs the river. The

* A large city in Berry, and an archbiſhoprick.

† In Berry, dioceſe of Bourges, and eight leagues diſtant.

prince then held a council, when it was reſolved he ſhould ſet out on his return to Bourdeaux, whence he had come, through Touraine and Poitou, and deſtroy all the country as he paſſed. They began their retreat, after they had done their pleaſure with the town; and this day they gained the caſtle, and ſlew the greater part whom they found in it.

They marched toward Romorantin*. The king of France ſent into Berry three gallant barons, the lord of Craon, the lord of Boucicault, and the hermit of Chaumont, to defend the frontiers, and to obſerve the motions of the Engliſh. They had with them three hundred lances; and, ſkirting the borders of the province, they followed them for ſix days, without finding any opportunity of intercepting or of attacking the enemy; ſuch good and cloſe order did the Engliſh maintain on their march.

The French therefore had recourſe to an ambuſcade, near to Romorantin, in a wonderfully narrow ſpot, which the Engliſh were obliged to paſs. That ſame day, there left the prince's army, from the battalion of the marſhals, by permiſſion of the prince, the lord Bartholomew Burgherſh, the lord of Muyſſidan a Gaſcon, the lord Petiton Courton, the lord Delawar, the lord Baſſet, ſir Walter Pavely, ſir Richard Pontchardon, ſir Neſle Loring, the young lord Deſpencer, ſir Euſtace and ſir Sanchez d'Ambreticourt, with about two hundred combat-

* Romorantin,—a conſiderable town on the Saudre, in Blaiſois, and capital of Sologne.

ants,

ants, in order to puſh forward to Romorantin. They paſſed through the ambuſcade of the French without moleſtation; but, the moment they were clear of it, the French, who were mounted on excellent and well-dreſſed horſes, ſtuck ſpurs into them, to overtake them. The Engliſh, who had got far forward, hearing the ſound of horſes' feet, turned round and found it was the enemy. They immediately halted, to wait for the French, who advanced on a gallop, fully determined what to do, with their lances in their reſts. The Engliſh, ſeeing them thus charge full ſpeed, opened on each ſide and let them paſs through, ſo that no more than five or ſix were unhorſed: they then cloſed their ranks, and fell upon the rear of the French. This engagement was very ſharp: many knights and ſquires were unhorſed, raiſed up again and reſcued on both ſides. It laſted a long time; and no one could tell, ſo valiantly was it diſputed, to which ſide victory would incline, when the battalion of the marſhals appeared in ſight. The French firſt noticed it, as it marched, ſkirting along a wood, and immediately thought of ſaving themſelves as faſt as they could, taking the road to Romorantin. The Engliſh followed on full gallop, overthrowing all they could, without ſparing themſelves or their horſes. The ſlaughter was great, and many were killed and unhorſed. One half of them, however, got ſafe into the caſtle of Romorantin, whoſe gates were opened to receive them. There the three barons ſaved themſelves, as well as ſome knights and ſquires who were the beſt mounted. The town

of

of Romorantin was taken on the firſt arrival of the Engliſh, for it was not fortified. The remainder of the French endeavoured to eſcape by getting into the caſtle.

CHAP. CLVI.

THE PRINCE OF WALES TAKES THE CASTLE OF ROMORANTIN.

WHEN the prince of Wales was informed that his people had been engaged, he haſtened the march of his army towards Romorantin, and, when he entered the town, found it full of his men, who were ſtudying how they could take the caſtle.

The prince called ſir John Chandos, and ordered him to go and hold a parley with thoſe in the caſtle. Sir John went to the barriers, and made a ſign that he wiſhed to ſpeak with ſome one: thoſe upon guard inquired his name, by whom he was ſent, and then went to inform their maſters. Upon which, the lord of Boucicault and the hermit of Chaumont came down to the bars. When ſir John ſaw them, he ſaluted them, and ſaid; 'Gentlemen, I am ſent to you by my lord the prince, who wiſhes, as it appears to me, to behave courteouſly toward his enemies, and thus ſays, that, if you will ſurrender the caſtle and yourſelves, he will ſhow you mercy, and give you good company.' The lord of Boucicault replied; 'We have no ſort of inclination to accept of ſuch terms, nor to commit ſuch an

an act of folly without any neceſſity; for we are determined to defend ourſelves.' Upon this they parted; and the prince ordered his men to quarters, for the next day he meant to attack the caſtle: they were therefore commodiouſly lodged in the town of Romorantin, and cloſe about it.

On the next morning, the men at arms prepared themſelves, and the archers advanced under their reſpective banners, and made a ſharp attack upon the caſtle. The archers, who had poſted themſelves on the ditches, ſhot ſo juſtly, that ſcarcely any one dared to ſhow himſelf on the battlements.

Some got upon hurdles and doors, with pick-axes and mattocks in their hands, and ſwam over the ditch, when they began to undermine the walls. Thoſe within flung down upon them large ſtones and pots of hot lime. On this occaſion, there was ſlain, on the part of the Engliſh, a ſquire called Remond de Gederlach, who belonged to the diviſion of the captal de Buch. This attack laſted the whole day, with little intermiſſion. The Engliſh retreated, towards night, to their quarters, in order to take care of the wounded; and on the morrow, at ſun-riſe, the marſhal's trumpets ſounded. All who were ordered for this aſſault got themſelves in readineſs: the prince of Wales himſelf attended in perſon, and by his preſence mightily encouraged the Engliſh. A ſquire, of the name of Bernard, was killed cloſe at his ſide, by a ſtone thrown from the caſtle: upon which the prince ſwore, he would never move from that place until he had the caſtle and

and all in it in his power, and immediately ordered reinforcements to the aſſault.

Some of the wiſeſt thought that they might uſe lances and arrows for ever in vain; and therefore they ordered cannons to be brought forward, and alſo aqueraux*, to fire *le feu gregois*† into the lower court of the caſtle, ſo that it was all in a blaze. The fire increaſed ſo much that it gained a large tower which was covered with thatch.

When thoſe within the caſtle found that they muſt either ſurrender themſelves or periſh by fire, the lord of Craon, the lord of Boucicault, and the hermit of Chaumont came down from the caſtle, and ſurrendered themſelves to the prince, who made them ride and attend him, as his priſoners: many other knights and ſquires who were in the caſtle were ſet at liberty, and the caſtle was deſtroyed.

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* *Aqueraulx.* In du Cange, this paſſage is referred to as the authority for the word: he calls it *machina belli.*

† Feu gregois, or feu grecquois, was compoſed of ſulphur, naphtha, pitch, gum, and bitumen. It is only extinguiſhable by vinegar mixed with ſand or urine, or by raw hides. It was firſt uſed by the Greeks, about the year 660.—For further accounts, ſee Encyclopædia Britannica, word *Fire.*

CHAP.

CHAP. CLVII.

THE KING OF FRANCE LEADS A GREAT ARMY TO THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

AFTER the taking of the caſtle of Romorantin, and the above-mentioned knights, the prince and his army marched forward as before, burning and deſtroying the country, in his approach to Anjou and Touraine.

The king of France, who had reſided at Chartres, ſet out from that place and came to Blois*, where he remained two days. He then came to Amboiſe†, and then to Loches‡, where he heard that the Engliſh were in Touraine, taking the road for their return through Poitou; for the Engliſh army was conſtantly obſerved by ſome able and expert knights of France and Burgundy, who ſent the king particular information of its movements.

The king of France then advanced to la Haye§ in Touraine. His army had croſſed the Loire, by the bridges of Orleans, Mehun, Saumur, Blois, and Tours, and wherever elſe they could. There were ſuch numbers of good and able men, that they were at leaſt twenty thouſand men at arms, without

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* A handſome city and biſhopric on the north ſide of the Loire, 44 leagues and a half from Paris.

† A ſmall city in Touraine, on the Loire, ten leagues from Blois.

‡ A town in Touraine, on the Indre, dioceſe of Tours, 69 leagues from Paris.

§ A town in Touraine, on the Creuſe, twelve leagues from Tours.

reckoning

reckoning the others: there were twenty-five dukes and earls, and upwards of ſix ſcore banners. The four young ſons of the king were alſo with him; Charles duke of Normandy, the lord Lewis, who was afterwards duke of Anjou, the lord John ſince duke of Berry, and the lord Philip, the younger, who was afterwards duke of Burgundy.

About this time, pope Innocent VI. had ſent into France two cardinals, ſir Bertrand, cardinal of Perigord, and ſir Nicholas, cardinal d'Aigel*, to endeavour to make a peace between the king of France and his enemies, and eſpecially between him and the king of Navarre, who was ſtill detained in priſon. The two cardinals had held frequent conferences with the king on this ſubject, during the ſiege of Breteuil, but were not able to bring it to a concluſion.

The cardinal of Perigord had retired to the city of Tours, where he was informed that the king of France was marching in all haſte after the Engliſh. He therefore left Tours, and haſtened to Poitiers, as he had learnt that the two armies were approaching near to each other in that quarter.

When the king of France heard that the prince of Wales was making as much haſte as poſſible to return, he did not think he could any way eſcape him. He marched from la Haye, with his whole army, and made for Chauvigny†, where he took

* In ſome, it is d'Urgel.

† A town in Poitou, on the Vienne, dioceſe of Poitiers, ſix leagues from Poitiers.

up

up his quarters on Thurſday, as well in the town as without the walls, in meads along the banks of the river Vienne. On the morrow, after breakfaſt, the king croſſed the river at the bridge of Chauvigny, and imagined that the Engliſh were juſt before him, but he was miſtaken. However, in the purſuit, upwards of forty thouſand horſe croſſed this bridge on the Friday: many others did ſo at Châtelleraut*: and all, as they paſſed, took the road to Poitiers.

On the other hand, the prince of Wales and his army were ignorant of the exact motions of the French; but they ſuppoſed they were not far diſtant, for their foragers found great difficulties in procuring forage, of which the whole army was in extreme want. They repented of the great waſte they had made in Berry, Anjou, and Touraine, and that they had not more amply proviſioned themſelves.

It happened on this Friday, from the king of France in perſon paſſing the bridge of Chauvigny, and the great crowds which attended him, that three great barons of France, the lord of Auxerre, the lord Raoul de Joigny, and the earl of Joigny, were obliged to remain all that day in the town of Chauvigny, and a part of their people with them: the others paſſed over without baggage or armour except what they had on their backs. On the Saturday morning, they diſlodged, croſſed the bridge,

* A town in Poitou, on the Vienne, dioceſe of Poitiers, ten leagues diſtant.

and followed the army of the king, which was about three leagues off. They made for the open fields and the heaths, which were ſurrounded by woods, in order to arrive at Poitiers. This ſame Saturday, the prince decamped from a village hard by, and ſent forward a detachment to ſeek adventures, and to bring ſome intelligence of the French. They conſiſted of about ſixty men, well armed and mounted for the occaſion. Among the knights were ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt and ſir John de Guiſtelles. By accident, they got on the heaths ſurrounded by the woods above mentioned. The French ſoon ſaw they were enemies: they fixed on their helmets, and unfurled their banners as quickly as they were able; when, fixing their lances in their reſts, they ſtuck ſpurs to their horſes.

The Engliſh no ſooner perceived theſe Frenchmen, who were about two hundred lances, than they reſolved to allow themſelves to be purſued, as the prince and his army were not far diſtant: they therefore wheeled about, and made for the rutty road through the wood. The French chaced them with ſhouts and a great noiſe, and, as they galloped on, fell in with the army of the prince, which had halted among the heaths to wait for their companions. The lord Raoul de Joigny and thoſe under his banner were advanced ſo far that they came right upon the banner of the prince: the engagement was very ſharp, and ſir Raoul fought well: however, he was made priſoner, as were the earl of Joigny, the viſcount de Breuſe, the lord of Chauvigny:

vigny: the greater part were either ſlain or captured.

By theſe the prince learnt, that the king of France had marched forward, and that he could not return without fighting him. Upon which, he collected all the ſtragglers, and ordered that no one, under pain of death, ſhould advance or ſkirmiſh before the battalion of the marſhals. They marched on this Saturday, from about nine o'clock until veſpers, when they came within two ſmall leagues of Poitiers.

The captal de Buch*, ſir Haymenon de Pomiers, ſir Bartholomew Burgherſh and ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt were ordered to advance, and obſerve where the French were encamped.

Theſe knights, with two hundred men well armed and mounted on their beſt ſteeds, ſet out, and ſoon perceived the French king's army. All the plain was covered with men at arms; and theſe Engliſh could not refrain from attacking the rear

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* *The Captal de Buch.* The title of captal had anciently been affected by ſome of the moſt illuſtrious lords of Aquitaine. It ſeems that it was originally equivalent to the title of count, and marked even a ſuperiority, as the word *capitalis* announces, principal chief. This dignity, at firſt perſonal, as well as all the others, became, in length of time, attached to particular families, and to the eſtates of which they were poſſeſſed. In the time of the firſt dukes of Aquitaine, there were ſeveral capitals; but this title, perhaps by neglect, was replaced by others, ſo that, towards the fourteenth century, there were no more than two captals acknowledged, that of Buch and that of Franc.—Vide Gloſſ. du Cange, ad verb. Capitalis.

of the French: they unhorſed many, and took ſome priſoners, inſomuch that the main army began to be in motion. News was brought of this to the king of France, as he was on the point of entering the city of Poitiers: upon which he turned back, and ordered his whole army to do the ſame, and make for the open fields, ſo that it was very late before they were quartered.

The Engliſh detachment returned to the prince, and related to him the appearance of the French: that they were in immenſe numbers. The prince, on hearing this, ſaid, 'God help us; we muſt now conſider which will be the beſt manner to fight them the moſt advantageouſly.'

This night, the Engliſh were quartered in a very ſtrong poſition, among vineyards and hedges, and both armies were well guarded.

CHAP. CLVIII.

THE DISPOSITION OF THE FRENCH BEFORE THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

ON the Sunday morning, the king of France, who was very impatient to combat the Engliſh, ordered a ſolemn maſs to be ſung in his pavilion; and he and his four ſons received the communion.

Maſs being over, there came to him the duke of Orleans, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Ponthieu, the lord James de Bourbon, the duke of Athens conſtable of France, the earl of Tancarville, the earl of Saltzburg, the earl of Dammartin, the

earl

earl of Vantadour, and many barons of France, as well as other great lords who held fiefs in the neighbourhood, ſuch as my lord of Clermont, ſir Arnold d'Andreghen marſhal of France, the lord de St. Venant, the lord John de Landas, the lord Euſtace de Ribeaumont, the lord de Fiennes, the lord Geoffry de Chargny, the lord of Châtillon, the lord of Sully, the lord of Neſle, ſir Robert de Duras, and many more, according to a ſummons they had received for a council. They were a conſiderable time debating: at laſt it was ordered, that the whole army ſhould advance into the plain, and that each lord ſhould diſplay his banner, and puſh forward in the name of God and St. Denis. Upon this, the trumpets of the army ſounded, and every one got himſelf ready, mounted his horſe, and made for that part of the plain where the king's banner was planted and fluttering in the wind. There might be ſeen all the nobility of France, richly dreſſed out in brilliant armour, with banners and pennons* gallantly diſplayed; for all the flower

* The *pennon* was the proper enſign of a bachelor or ſimple knight. Du Freſne ſhews, that even ſquires might bear pennons, provided they could bring a ſufficient ſuite of vaſſals in the field.—Note in Groſe's Military Antiquities. See alſo p. 206, vol. i. for an account of the banner and bannerets, and p. 256, vol. ii.

In computing the numbers of an army, every man at arms ſhould be counted as three; for each had his ſquire to bear his lance, &c. and alſo his body ſquire.

Villaret, in his hiſtory of France, ſays that three thouſand men at arms amounted to nearly twelve thouſand men.

Vol. V. 4th edit. p. 179.

of the French nobility were there: no knight nor ſquire, for fear of diſhonour, dared to remain at home.

By the advice of the conſtable and the marſhals, the army was divided into three battalions, each conſiſting of ſixteen thouſand men at arms, who had before ſhewn themſelves men of tried courage.

The duke of Orleans commanded the firſt battalion, where there were thirty-ſix banners and twice as many pennons. The ſecond was under the command of the duke of Normandy, and his two brothers, the lord Lewis and lord John. The king of France commanded the third.

Whilſt theſe three battalions were forming, the king called to him the lord Euſtace de Ribeaumont, the lord John de Landas, and the lord Guiſcard de Beaujeu, and ſaid to them; 'Ride forward, as near the Engliſh army as you can, and obſerve their countenance, taking notice of their numbers, and examine which will be the moſt advantageous manner for us to combat them, whether on horſeback or on foot.' The three knights left the king to obey his commands. The king was mounted upon a white palfrey, and, riding to the head of his army, ſaid aloud; 'You, men of Paris, Chartres, Rouen and Orleans, have been uſed to threaten what you would do to the Engliſh, if you could find them, and wiſhed much to meet them in arms: now, that wiſh ſhall be gratified: I will lead you to them; and let us ſee how you will revenge yourſelves for all the miſchief and damage they have done you; be aſſured we will not part without fighting.'

fighting.' Thoſe who heard him replied; 'Sir, through God's aſſiſtance, we will moſt cheerfully meet them.'

At this inſtant the three knights returned, and puſhing through the crowd, came to the king, who aſked what news they had brought: ſir Euſtace de Ribeaumont, whom his companions had requeſted to be their ſpokeſman, anſwered; 'Sir, we have obſerved accurately the Engliſh: they may amount, according to our eſtimate, to about two thouſand men at arms, four thouſand archers, and fifteen hundred footmen. They are in a very ſtrong poſition; but we do not imagine they can make more than one battalion: nevertheleſs, they have poſted themſelves with great judgment, have fortified all the road along the hedge-ſide, and lined the hedges with part of their archers; for, as that is the only road for an attack, one muſt paſs through the midſt of them. This lane has no other entry; and it is ſo narrow, that ſcarcely can four men ride through it abreaſt. At the end of this lane, amidſt vines and thorns, where it is impoſſible to ride or march in any regular order, are poſted the men at arms on foot; and they have drawn up before them their archers, in the manner of a harrow, ſo that it will be no eaſy matter to defeat them.'

The king aſked, in what manner they would adviſe him to attack them: 'Sir,' replied ſir Euſtace, 'on foot: except three hundred of the moſt expert and boldeſt of your army, who muſt be well armed and excellently mounted, in order to break, if poſſible, this body of archers; and then your bat-

talions muſt advance quickly on foot, attack men at arms hand to hand, and combat them valiantly. This is the beſt advice that I can give you; and, if any one know a better, let him ſay it.'

The king replied; 'Thus ſhall it be then; and, in company with his two marſhals, he rode from battalion to battalion, and ſelected, in conformity to their opinions, three hundred knights and ſquires of the greateſt repute in his army, each well armed and mounted on the beſt of horſes. Soon after, the battalion of the Germans was formed, who were to remain on horſeback to aſſiſt the marſhals: they were commanded by the earls of Saltzburg, Neydo, and Naſſau.

King John was armed in royal armour, and nineteen others like him*. He had given his eldeſt ſon in charge to the lord of St. Venant, the lord of Landas, and the lord Theobald de Bodenay. The lord Geoffry de Chargny carried the banner of France, as being the moſt valiant and prudent knight of the army. The lord Reginald de Que-

* This cuſtom of arming ſeveral in like manner to the commander of an army, ſeems to have been uſual, and was carried down to our Richard III.'s time. Shakeſpeare makes Richard ſay, in the fourth ſcene of the laſt act;

'I think, there be ſix Richmonds in the field:
Five have I ſlain to-day, inſtead of him.'

Alſo in the firſt part, Henry IV. Douglas ſays;

'Another king! they grow like hydras' heads;
I am the Douglas, fatal to all thoſe
That wear theſe colours on them.——What art thou,
That counterfeit'ſt the perſon of a king?'

nolle,

nolle*, furnamed the Archprieſt, wore the full armour of the young earl of Alençon.

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* His name was Arnaut de Cervole.

'The family of Cervole, Cervolle, or Servola, held a diſtinguiſhed rank among the nobility of Perigord. Arnaut was of this family. Some authors make him a Gaſcon, becauſe formerly all borderers on the Garonne were ſo called.

'The title of *archipreſbyter de Verniis*, which Dom. Vaiſſette tranſlates, 'archprieſt of Vezzins,' was given to him, for though a knight and a married man, he poſſeſſed an archprieſtſhip of that name. It is known, that Hugh duke of France and Burgundy, earl of Paris and Orleans, who died in 956, was ſurnamed the Abbot; becauſe, though a layman, he poſſeſſed the abbeys of St. Denis, St. Germain-des-près, and St. Martin de Tours.

'Vizzins was probably an archprieſtſhip whoſe revenues Cervolle received. One cannot determine where it was ſituated, for villages and hamlets of this name are in Anjou, Touraine, Bouergue, and in Brittany.'

For further particulars, I ſhall refer to M. de Zurlauben's memoir itſelf, in the xxyth volume of the Memoires de l'Academie.

'In this ſame year [1366], about Trinity-day, ſir Arnold de Cervole, furnamed the Archprieſt, who commanded a large body of men at arms in the kingdom of France, was put to death by his own men, which rejoiced many.'—See more in the iiid. vol. Grands Chroniques de France, T. 3,

CHAP. CLIX.

THE CARDINAL DE PERIGORD ENDEAVOURS TO MAKE PEACE BETWEEN THE KING OF FRANCE AND THE PRINCE OF WALES, PREVIOUS TO THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

WHEN the battalions of the king of France were drawn up, and each lord poſted under his proper banner, and informed how they were to act, it was ordered, that all thoſe who were armed with lances ſhould ſhorten them to the length of five feet, that they might be the more manageable, and that every one ſhould take off his ſpurs.

As the French were on the point of marching to their enemies, the cardinal de Perigord, who had left Poitiers that morning early, came full gallop up to the king, making a low reverence, and intreated him, with uplifted hands, for the love of God, to halt a moment, that he might ſpeak to him: he thus began; 'Moſt dear ſire, you have here with you all the flower of knighthood of your kingdom againſt a handful of people, ſuch as the Engliſh are, when compared to your army; you may have them upon other terms than by a battle; and it will be more honorable and profitable to you to gain them by this means than to riſk ſuch a fine army, and ſuch noble perſons as you have now with you. I therefore beſeech you, in all humility, and by the love of God, that you will permit me to go to the prince, and remonſtrate with him on the dangerous

ſituation

ſituation he is in.' The king anſwered, 'It is very agreeable to us; but make haſte back again.'

The cardinal, upon this, ſet off, and went in all ſpeed to the prince, whom he found on foot in the midſt of his army, in the thickeſt part of a vineyard. When the cardinal came there, he diſmounted, and advanced to the prince, who moſt affably received him, and, after he had made his reverence, ſaid; 'Fair ſon, if you have well conſidered the great army of the king of France, you will permit me to make up matters between you both, if I poſſibly can.' The prince, who was but in his youth, replied; 'Sir, my own honor, and that of my army ſaved, I am ready to liſten to any reaſonable terms.' The cardinal anſwered; 'Fair ſon, you ſay well: and I will bring about a treaty, if I can; for it would be a great pity, that ſo many worthy perſons, who are here, ſhould meet in battle.' The cardinal returned to the king of France, and ſaid; 'Sir, you have no occaſion to be ſo impatient to fight with them, for they cannot eſcape from you: I therefore intreat you would grant them a truce from this time, until to-morrow's ſun riſe.' The king at firſt would not agree to it, for a part of his council refuſed their conſent: however, the cardinal ſpoke ſo eloquently that the king at laſt aſſented. He ordered a very handſome and rich pavilion of red ſilk to be pitched on the ſpot where he ſtood, and diſmiſſed his army to their quarters, except the battalion of the conſtable and marſhals.

All this Sunday, the cardinal rode from one army to the other, and was very anxious to recon-

cile the two parties. But the king would not liſten to any other terms than that four principal perſons of the Engliſh ſhould be given up to his will, and that the prince and his army ſhould unconditionally ſurrender themſelves. Many propoſals were made; the prince offered to ſurrender to the king of France all the towns and caſtles which he had conquered in this expedition; to give up, without ranſom, all his priſoners, and to ſwear he would not for ſeven years take up arms againſt the king of France. The king and his council refuſed to accept of this, and the affair remained ſome time in ſuſpenſe: at laſt, they declared that, if the prince of Wales and one hundred of his knights did not ſurrender themſelves priſoners to the king of France, he would not allow them to paſs on without an engagement. The prince and his army diſdained accepting of ſuch conditions.

Whilſt the cardinal was riding from one army to the other, endeavouring to make peace, ſome knights of either party rode forth, ſkirting their enemy's army, to examine its diſpoſition. It chanced, on that day, that ſir John Chandos had rode out near one of the wings of the French army, and lord John de Clermont, one of the king's marſhals, had done the ſame, to view the Engliſh. As each knight was returning to his quarters, they met; they both had the ſame device upon the ſurcoats which they wore over their other clothes; it was a Virgin Mary embroidered on a field azure, or, encompaſſed with the rays of the ſun argent. On ſeeing this, lord Clermont ſaid; 'Chandos, how long is it ſince you

have

have taken upon you to wear my arms?' 'It is you who have mine,' replied Chandos; 'for it is as much mine as yours.' 'I deny that,' ſaid the lord of Clermont; 'and were it not for the truce between us, I would ſoon ſhew you that you have no right to wear it.' 'Ha,' anſwered ſir John Chandos, 'you will find me to-morrow in the field, ready prepared to defend, and to prove by force of arms, that it is as much mine as yours.'

The lord of Clermont replied; 'Theſe are the boaſtings of you Engliſh, who can invent nothing new, but take for your own whatever you ſee handſome belonging to others.' With that they parted, without more words, and each returned to his own army.

The cardinal de Perigord, not being able by any means to reconcile the king and prince, returned to Poitiers late in the evening.

That ſame day the French kept in their quarters, where they lived at their eaſe, having plenty of proviſions; whilſt the Engliſh, on the other hand, were but badly off, nor did they know whither to go for forage, as they were ſo ſtraitly kept by the French, they could not move without danger. This Sunday they made many mounds and ditches round where the archers were poſted, the better to ſecure them.

On Monday morning, the prince and his army were ſoon in readineſs, and as well arrayed as on the former day. The French were alſo drawn out by ſun-riſe. The cardinal, returning again that morning, imagined that, by his exhortations, he could

could pacify both parties: but the French told him to return where he pleaſed, and not attempt bringing them any more treaties or pacifications, elſe worſe might betide him.

When the cardinal ſaw that he laboured in vain, he took leave of the king of France, and ſet out toward the prince of Wales, to whom he ſaid; 'Fair ſon, exert yourſelf as much as poſſible, for there muſt be a battle; I cannot by any means pacify the king of France.' The prince replied, 'that ſuch were the intentions of him and his army: and God defend the right.' The cardinal then took leave of him, and returned to Poitiers.

In his company, there were ſome knights and men at arms more inclined to the French than to the Engliſh, who, when they ſaw that a battle was unavoidable, ſtole away from their maſter, and, joining the French forces, choſe for their leader the caſtellan of Ampoſta*, who at that time was attached to the cardinal.

The cardinal knew nothing of this, until he was arrived at Poitiers.

The arrangement of the prince's army, in reſpect to the battalions, was exactly the ſame as what the three knights before named had related to the king of France, except that at this time he had ordered ſome valiant and intelligent knights to remain on horſeback, ſimilar to the battalion of the French marſhals, and had alſo commanded three hundred

* Among the cortes of Spain was the caſtellan of Ampoſta.

men

men at arms, and as many archers on horſeback, to poſt themſelves on the right on a ſmall hill, that was not too ſteep nor too high, and, by paſſing over its ſummit, to get round the wing of the duke of Normandy's battalion, who was in perſon at the foot of it. Theſe were all the alterations the prince had made in his order of battle: he himſelf was with the main body, in the midſt of the vineyards: the whole completely armed, with their horſes near, if there ſhould be occaſion for them.

They had fortified and incloſed the weaker parts, with their waggons and baggage.

I wiſh to name ſome of the moſt renowned knights, who were with the prince of Wales. There were Thomas Beauchamp earl of Warwick, John Vere earl of Oxford, William Mountacute earl of Saliſbury, Robert Hufford earl of Suffolk, Ralph lord Stafford, the earl of Stafford, the lord Richard Stafford, brother to the earl, ſir John Chandos, the lord Reginald Cobham, the lord Edward Spencer, the lord James Audley and his brother the lord Peter, the lord Thomas Berkley (ſon of the lord Maurice Berkley who died at Calais nine years before), Ralph lord Baſſet of Drayton, John lord Warren (eldeſt ſon to John Plantagenet late earl of Warren, Strathern, and Surry, by his firſt lady Maude de Hereford), Peter lord Mauley, the ſixth of the name, the lord John Willoughby de Ereſby, the lord Bartholomew de Burgherſh, the lord William Felton and the lord Thomas Felton his brother, the lord Thomas Bradeſtan; ſir Walter Pavely,

Pavely, ſir Stephen Coſſington, ſir Matthew Gourney, ſir William de la More, and other Engliſh.

From Gaſcony, there were the lord of Pumiers, the lord d'Albret, the captal de Buch, the lord John de Chaumont, the lord de l'Eſparre, the lord of Roſen, the lord of Couſen, the lord de Montferrand, the lord de Landulas, the lord Souldich de la Trane*, and many more whom I cannot remember.

Of Hainaulters, there were ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt, the lord John de Guyſtelle, and two other ſtrangers, the lord Daniel Phaſelle and lord Denis de Morbeque.

The whole army of the prince, including every one, did not amount to more than eight thouſand: when the French, counting all ſorts of perſons, were upwards of ſixty thouſand combatants; among whom were more than three thouſand knights.

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* He is called *ſir Sandich de la Trane* in the account of the knights of the garter. See Anſtis' Order of the Garter, where there is a ſhort hiſtory of him. He ſuppoſes the word Souldich (but ſays he can nowhere find the meaning of it) to be that of ſome office, like to captal, which, in the cuſtoms of Bourdeaux, article 75, is ranked with the viſcounts and barons.

CHAP. CLX.

THE BATTLE OF POITIERS, BETWEEN THE PRINCE OF WALES AND THE KING OF FRANCE.

WHEN the prince of Wales ſaw, from the departure of the cardinal without being able to obtain any honourable terms, that a battle was inevitable, and that the king of France held both him and his army in great contempt, he thus addreſſed himſelf to them: 'Now, my gallant fellows, what though we be a ſmall body when compared to the army of our enemies; do not let us be caſt down on that account, for victory does not always follow numbers, but where the Almighty GOD pleaſes to beſtow it. If, through good fortune, the day ſhall be ours, we will gain the greateſt honor and glory in this world: if the contrary ſhould happen, and we be ſlain, I have a father and beloved brethren alive, and you all have ſome relations, or good friends, who will be ſure to revenge our deaths. I therefore intreat of you to exert yourſelves, and combat manfully; for, if it pleaſe God and St. George, you ſhall ſee me this day act like a true knight.'

By ſuch words and arguments as theſe, the prince harangued his men; as did the marſhals, by his orders; ſo that they were all in high ſpirits.

Sir John Chandos placed himſelf near the prince, to guard and adviſe him; and never, during that day, would he, on any account, quit his poſt.

The

The lord James Audeley remained alſo a conſiderable time near him; but, when he ſaw that they muſt certainly engage, he ſaid to the prince; 'Sir, I have ever ſerved moſt loyally my lord your father, and yourſelf, and ſhall continue ſo to do, as long as I have life. Dear ſir, I muſt now acquaint you, that formerly I made a vow, if ever I ſhould be engaged in any battle where the king your father or any of his ſons were, that I would be the foremoſt in the attack, and the beſt combatant on his ſide, or die in the attempt. I beg therefore moſt earneſtly, as a reward for any ſervices I may have done, that you would grant me permiſſion honourably to quit you, that I may poſt myſelf in ſuch wiſe to accompliſh my vow.'

The prince granted his requeſt, and, holding out his hand to him, ſaid; 'Sir James, God grant that this day you may ſhine in valour above all other knights.' The knight then ſet off, and poſted himſelf at the front of the battalion, with only four ſquires whom he had detained with him to guard his perſon. This lord James was a prudent and valiant knight; and by his advice the army had thus been drawn up in order of battle.

Lord James began to advance, in order to fight with the battalion of the marſhals.

In like manner, ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt took great pains to be the firſt to engage, and was ſo, or near it: and, at the time that lord James Audeley was puſhing forward to ſeek his enemies, it thus befel ſir Euſtace. I mentioned before, that the Germans

mans attached to the French intereſt were drawn up in one battalion on horſeback, and remained ſo, to aſſiſt the marſhals. Sir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt, being mounted, placed his lance in its reſt, and, fixing his ſhield, ſtuck ſpurs into his horſe, and gallopped up to this battalion. A German knight, called lord Lewis von Coucibras (who bore for arms five roſes, gules, on a ſhield argent, while thoſe of ſir Euſtace were ermine, three humets, in pale gules), perceiving ſir Euſtace quit his army, left his battalion that was under the command of earl John of Naſſau, and made up to him: the ſhock of their meeting was ſo violent, that they both fell to the ground. The German was wounded in the ſhoulder, ſo that he could not riſe again ſo nimbly as ſir Euſtace, who, when upon his legs, after he had taken breath, was haſtening to the knight that lay on the ground; but five German men at arms came upon him, ſtruck him down, and made him priſoner. They led him to thoſe that were attached to the earl of Naſſau, who did not pay much attention to him, nor do I know if they made him ſwear himſelf their priſoner; but they tied him to a car with ſome of their harneſs.

The engagement now began on both ſides; and the battalion of the marſhals was advancing before thoſe who were intended to break the battalion of the archers, and had entered the lane where the hedges on both ſides were lined by the archers; who, as ſoon as they ſaw them fairly entered, began ſhooting with their bows in ſuch an excellent manner, from each ſide of the hedge, that the horſes,

ſmarting under the pain of the wounds made by their barbed arrows, would not advance, but turned about, and, by their unrulineſs, threw their maſters, who could not manage them, nor could thoſe that had fallen get up again for the confuſion; ſo that this battalion of the marſhals could never approach that of the prince: however, there were ſome knights and ſquires ſo well mounted, that, by the ſtrength of their horſes, they paſſed through, and broke the hedge, but, in ſpite of their efforts, could not get up to the battalion of the prince. The lord James Audley, attended by his four ſquires*, had placed himſelf, ſword in hand, in front of this battalion, much before the reſt, and was performing wonders. He had advanced, through his eagerneſs, ſo far, that he engaged the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, marſhal of France, under his banner, when they fought a conſiderable time, and the lord Arnold was roughly enough treated. The battalion of the marſhals was ſoon after put to the rout by the arrows of the archers, and the aſſiſtance of the men at arms, who ruſhed among them as they were ſtruck down, and ſeized and ſlew them at their pleaſure. The lord Arnold d'Andreghen was there made priſoner, but by others than the lord James Audley or his four ſquires; for that knight never ſtopped to make any one his priſoner that day, but was the whole time employed in fighting and following his enemies.

* Their names were: Dutton of Dutton,—Delves of Doddington,—Fowlehurſt of Crew,—Hawkeſtone of Wainehill.—*Aſhmole's Garter.*

In

In another part, the lord John Clermont fought under his banner as long as he was able; but, being ſtruck down, he could neither get up again nor procure his ranſom: he was killed on the ſpot. Some ſay, this treatment was owing to his altercation on the preceding day with ſir John Chandos.

In a ſhort time, this battalion of the marſhals was totally diſcomfited; for they fell back ſo much on each other, that the army could not advance, and thoſe who were in the rear, not being able to get forward, fell back upon the battalion commanded by the duke of Normandy, which was broad and thick in the front, but it was ſoon thin enough in the rear; for, when they learnt that the marſhals had been defeated, they mounted their horſes and ſet off. At this time, a body of Engliſh came down from the hill, and, paſſing along the battalions on horſeback, accompanied by a large body of archers, fell upon one of the wings of the duke of Normandy's diviſion. To ſay the truth, the Engliſh archers were of infinite ſervice to their army; for they ſhot ſo thickly and ſo well, that the French did not know which way to turn themſelves, to avoid their arrows: by this means they kept advancing by little and little, and gained ground.

When the men at arms perceived that the firſt battalion was beaten, and that the one under the duke of Normandy was in diſorder, and beginning to open, they haſtened to mount their horſes, which they had, ready prepared, cloſe at hand. As ſoon as they were all mounted, they gave a ſhout of

'St. George, for Guienne!' and ſir John Chandos ſaid to the prince; 'Sir, ſir, now puſh forward, for the days is ours: God will this day put it in your hand. Let us make for our adverſary the king of France; for where he is will lie the main ſtreſs of the buſineſs: I well know that his valour will not let him fly; and he will remain with us, if it pleaſe God and St. George: but he muſt be well fought with; and you have before ſaid, that you would ſhew yourſelf this day a good knight.' The prince replied; 'John, get forward; you ſhall not ſee me turn my back this day, but I will always be among the foremoſt.' He then ſaid to ſir Walter Woodland, his banner-bearer, 'Banner advance, in the name of God and St. George.' The knight obeyed the commands of the prince. In that part, the battle was very hot, and greatly crowded: many a one was unhorſed: and you muſt know, that whenever any one fell, he could not get up again, unleſs he were quickly and well aſſiſted.

As the prince was thus advancing upon his enemies, followed by his diviſion, and upon the point of charging them, he perceived the lord Robert de Duras lying dead near a ſmall buſh on his right hand, with his banner beſide him, and ten or twelve of his people: upon which he ordered two of his ſquires and three archers to place the body upon a ſhield, carry it to Poitiers, and preſent it from him to the cardinal of Perigord, and ſay, that 'I ſalute him by that token.' This was done; for he had been informed how the ſuite of the cardinal had remained

mained in the field of battle in arms againſt him, which was not very becoming, nor a fit deed for churchmen to do, as they, under pretext of doing good and eſtabliſhing peace, paſs from one army to the other, they ought not therefore to take up arms on either ſide. Theſe, however, had done ſo, at which the prince was much engaged, and for this had ſent the cardinal his nephew ſir Robert de Duras, and was deſirous of ſtriking off the head of the caſtellan of Ampoſta, who had been made priſoner, notwithſtanding he belonged to the cardinal; but ſir John Chandos ſaid, 'My lord, do not think of ſuch things at this moment, when you muſt look to others of the greateſt importance: perhaps the cardinal may excuſe himſelf ſo well, that you will be convinced he was not to blame.'

The prince, upon this, charged the diviſion of the duke of Athens, and very ſharp the encounter was, ſo that many were beaten down. The French, who fought in large bodies, cried out, 'Montjoye St. Dennis!' and the Engliſh anſwered them with, 'St. George for Guienne!'

The prince next met the battalion of Germans, under the command of the earl of Saltzburg, the earl of Naſſau, and the earl of Neydo; but they were ſoon overthrown, and put to flight. The Engliſh archers ſhot ſo well, that none dared to come within reach of their arrows, and they put to death many who could not ranſom themſelves. The three above-named earls were ſlain there, as well as many other knights and ſquires attached to

them. In the confuſion, ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt was reſcued by his own men, who remounted him: he afterwards performed many gallant deeds of arms, and made good captures that day.

When the battalion of the duke of Normandy ſaw the prince advancing ſo quick upon them, they bethought themſelves how to eſcape. The ſons of the king, the duke of Normandy, the earl of Poitiers, and the earl of Touraine, who were very young, too eaſily believed what thoſe under whoſe management they were placed ſaid to them: however, the lord Guiſcard d'Angle and ſir John de Saintré, who were near the earl of Poitiers, would not fly, but ruſhed into the thickeſt of the combat.

The three ſons of the king, according to the advice given them, gallopped away, with upwards of eight hundred lances who had never been near the enemy, and took the road to Chauvigny.

When the lord John de Landas, who, with the lord Theobald de Bodenay and the lord of St. Venant, were the guardians of the duke of Normandy, had fled with him a good league, they took leave of him, and beſought the lord of St. Venant not to quit him until they were all arrived at a place of ſafety; for, by doing thus, he would acquire more honor than if he were to remain on the field of battle. On their return, they met the diviſion of the duke of Orleans, quite whole and unhurt, who had fled from behind the rear of the king's battalion. True it is, there were many good knights and ſquires among them, who, notwithſtanding the

flight of their leaders, had much rather have ſuffered death than the ſmalleſt reproach*.

The king's battalion advanced in good order, to meet the Engliſh: many hard blows were given with ſwords, battle-axes, and other warlike weapons. The king of France, with the lord Philip his youngeſt ſon, attacked the diviſion of the marſhals, the earls of Warwick and Suffolk: there were alſo with the maſhals ſome Gaſcons, ſuch as the captal de Buch, the lord of Pumiers, the lord Aymery de Charree, the lord of Languran, the lord de l'Eſtrade. The lord John de Landas, with the lord Theobald de Bodenay, returning in good time, diſmounted, and joined the battalion of the king.

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* My manuſcripts make here a new chapter, and it begins as follows;

'You have heard before related in this hiſtory the battle of Crecy, and how fortune was marvellouſly unfavourable to the French. They had equal ill luck at the battle of Poitiers; for the French men at arms were at leaſt ſeven to one. It muſt therefore be looked upon as very unfortunate that, with this advantage, they could not gain the field from their enemies. But, to ſay the truth, this battle of Poitiers was much better fought than that of Crecy; and the men at arms had more leiſure, and better opportunities to obſerve their enemies, than they had at Crecy; for that battle did not begin before veſpers, and with an army in diſorder, whilſt the battle of Poitiers commenced early in the morning, and the French army well arranged. There were many more gallant deeds performed without compariſon, in this than in the former battle; and there were not ſo many great lords ſlain. Thoſe that were there behaved themſelves ſo loyally, that their heirs, to this day, are honoured for their ſake.'

--On one ſide, the duke of Athens, conſtable of France, was engaged with his diviſion; and, a little higher up, the duke of Bourbon, ſurrounded with good knights, from the Bourbonois and Picardy.

Near to theſe were the men of Poitou, the lord de Pons, the lord de Partenay, the lord de Dampmaire, the lord de Montabouton, the lord de Surgeres, the lord John de Saintré, the lord Guiſcard d'Angle, the lord d'Argenton, the lord de Linieres, the lord de Montrande, the viſcount de Rochechouart, the earl of Aulnoy. Many others were alſo engaged, ſuch as the lord James de Beaujeu, the lord of Chateau Villain, and other knights and ſquires from Burgundy.

In another part were the earls of Vantadour and Montpenſier, the lord James de Bourbon, the lord John d'Artois, and the lord James his brother, the lord Arnold de Cervolle, ſurnamed the Archprieſt, armed as the young earl of Alençon.

There were alſo from Auvergne, the lord de Marcueil, the lord de la Tour, the lord de Chalenton, the lord de Montagu, the lord de Rochefort, the lord de la Chaire, the lord d'Achon; and from Limouſin, the lord de Linal. the lord de Noruel, and the lord Pierre de Buſſiere.

From Picardy, there were the lord William de Merle, the lord Arnold de Renneval, the lord Geoffry de St. Dizier, the lord de Chauny, the lord de Hely, the lord de Monſant, the lord de Hagnes, and many others.

The

The lord Douglas*, from Scotland, was alſo in the king's battalion, and for ſome time fought very valiantly; but, when he perceived the diſcomfiture was

* 'Lord Douglas, forgetful of his religious pilgrimage, offered his ſword to the French king. He was received with diſtinguiſhed honours, 'was made a knight of his hande,' Scala Chron. ap. Leland, and his ſervice was accepted. To ſay that a perſon received the honour of knighthood, is, in modern language, unintereſting, and ſometimes it is ludicrous. This muſt always be the caſe, when names and ceremonies are retained, while from a total change of manners, that which gave dignity to ſuch names and ceremonies is forgotten by the vulgar.

'Great carnage was made of the Scots at the battle of Poitiers. Lord Douglas, after having been wounded, was forced off the field by his ſurviving companions. Archibald Douglas, a warrior eminent in our hiſtory, fell into the power of the enemy; but, by the extraordinary preſence of mind of ſir William Ramſay of Colluthy, he was concealed, and eſcaped unknown.

'The ſtory of Archibald Douglas's eſcape, as related by Fordun, is curious. It ſhall be tranſlated as nearly as poſſible in his own manner. 'Archibald Douglas, having been made priſoner along with the reſt, appeared in more ſumptuous armour than the other Scottiſh priſoners; and, therefore, he was ſuppoſed by the Engliſh to be ſome great lord. Late in the evening after the battle, when the Engliſh were about to ſtrip off his armour, ſir William Ramſay of Colluthy, happening to be preſent, fixed his eyes on Archibald Douglas, and, affecting to be in a violent paſſion, cried out, *You cursed, damnable murderer, how comes it, in the name of mischief* (ex parte diaboli), *that you are thus proudly decked out in your master's armour? Come hither, and pull off my boots.* Douglas approached trembling, kneeled down, and pulled off one of the boots. Ramſay, taking up the boot, beat Douglas with it. The Engliſh byeſtanders, imagining him out of his ſenſes,

was complete on the ſide of the French, he ſaved himſelf as faſt as he could; for he dreaded ſo much being taken by the Engliſh, that he had rather have been ſlain.

The lord James Audley, with the aſſiſtance of his four ſquires, was always engaged in the heat of the battle. He was ſeverely wounded in the body, head and face; and as long as his ſtrength and breath permitted him, he maintained the fight, and advanced forward: he continued to do ſo until he was covered with blood: then, towards the cloſe of the engagement, his four ſquires, who were as his body-guard, took him, and led him out of the engagement, very weak and wounded, towards a

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ſenſes, interpoſed, and reſcued Douglas. They ſaid, that the perſon whom he had beaten was certainly of great rank, and a lord. *What, he a lord?* cried Ramſay: *he is a ſcullion, and a baſe knave, and, as I ſuppoſe, has killed his maſter. Go, you villain, to the field, ſearch for the body of my couſin, your maſter; and when you have found it, come back, that at leaſt, I may give him a decent burial.* Then he ranſomed the feigned ſerving man for forty ſhillings; and, having buffeted him ſmartly, he cried, *Get you gone; fly.* Douglas bore all this patiently, carried on the deceit, and was ſoon beyond the reach of his enemies.'

'This ſtory, as to ſome of its circumſtances, may not ſeem altogether probable; yet, in the main, it has the appearance of truth. Had I been at liberty to vary the narrative, I would have made Ramſay ſuſpect, that the feigned ſerving man had ſtripped his maſter, after he had been ſlain or mortally wounded.' This Archibald was the natural ſon of the renowned ſir James Douglas, ſlain by the Saracens in Granada.'

Lord Hailes's Annals of Scotland, vol i. pp. 240, 241.

hedge,

hedge, that he might cool and take breath. They diſarmed him as gently as they could, in order to examine his wounds, dreſs them, and ſew up the moſt dangerous.

King John, on his part, proved himſelf a good knight; and, if the fourth of his people had behaved as well, the day would have been his own. Thoſe, however, who had remained with him acquitted themſelves to the beſt of their power, and were either ſlain or taken priſoners. Scarcely any who were with the king attempted to eſcape.

Among the ſlain, were the duke Peter de Bourbon, the duke of Athens, conſtable of France, the biſhop of Chalons* in Champagne, the lord Guiſcard de Beaujeu, and the lord of Landas.

The archprieſt, ſir Theobald de Bodenay and the lord of Pompadour, were made priſoners, badly

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* *The biſhop of Chalons.* We ſee, by the example of this prelate and of the archbiſhop of Sens, who aſſiſted at the battle of Poitiers, that the cuſtom, ariſing out of the feudal law, which obliged eccleſiaſtics to perſonal ſervice in the armies, ſubſiſted in many parts of France. The laws of the church condemned this practice, to which their temporal poſſeſſions ſubjugated the clergy. This contradiction in the form of our government with the ſpirit of our religion exiſted until the practice was inſenſibly aboliſhed by different diſpenſations, and exchanged for contributions of money and men. Francis I. by his edict of the 4th July 1541, regulated the clauſes for their exemption. Since that period, the clergy have been exempted from ſervice of ban and arriere ban, by different letters patent, and particularly by an edict of the 29th April 1686, under Lewis XIII.—*Villaret Hiſt. de France,* vol. v. p. 104.

wounded.

wounded. In another part of the field of battle, the earls of Vaudemont and Genville, and the earl of Vendôme were priſoners. Not far from that ſpot were ſlain, the lord William de Neſle and the lord Euſtace de Ribeaumont, the lord de la Tour and the lord William de Montagu. The lord Lewis de Melval, the lord Pierre de Buſſiere and the lord de Senerach, were taken. In this engagement, upwards of two hundred knights and ſquires were killed or captured.

A band of Norman knights ſtill kept up the battle, in another part of the field; and of theſe, ſir Guinenton de Chambly and ſir Baudrin de la Houſe were ſlain: many others were diſcomfited, who were fighting in ſmall bodies.

CHAP. CLX.

TWO FRENCHMEN, RUNNING AWAY FROM THE BATTLE OF POITIERS, ARE PURSUED BY TWO ENGLISHMEN, WHO ARE THEMSELVES MADE PRISONERS.

AMONG the battles, ſkirmiſhes, flights and purſuits, which happened in the courſe of this day, an adventure befel ſir Edward de Roucy, which I cannot omit relating in this place. He had left the field of battle, as he perceived the day was irrecoverably loſt; and, not wiſhing to fall into the hands of the Engliſh, was got about a league off; when he was purſued by an Engliſh knight, his lance in the

the reſt, who cried to him, 'Sir knight, turn about: you ought to be aſhamed thus to fly.' Upon this, ſir Edward halted, and the Engliſhman attacked him, thinking to fix his lance in his target; but he failed, for ſir Edward turned the ſtroke aſide, nevertheleſs he did not miſs his own: with his ſpear he hit his enemy ſo violent a blow on the helmet, that he was ſtunned and fell to the ground, where he remained ſenſeleſs.

Sir Edward diſmounted, and, placing his lance on his breaſt, told him that he would certainly kill him, if he did not ſurrender himſelf his priſoner, reſcued or not. The Engliſhman ſurrendered, and went with ſir Edward, who afterward ranſomed him.

It happened that, in the midſt of the general purſuit, a ſquire from Picardy, named John de Helennes, had quitted the king's diviſion, and, meeting his page with a freſh horſe, had mounted him, and made off as faſt as he could. At that time, there was near to him the lord of Berkeley, a young knight, who, for the firſt time, had that day diſplayed his banner: he immediately ſet out in purſuit of him.

When the lord of Berkeley had followed him for ſome little time, John de Helennes turned about, put his ſword under his arm in the manner of a lance, and thus advanced upon the lord Berkeley, who taking his ſword by the handle, flouriſhed it, and lifted up his arm in order to ſtrike the ſquire as he paſſed. John de Helennes, ſeeing the intended ſtroke, avoided it, but did not miſs his own; for as

they

they paſſed each other, by a blow on the arm he make lord Berkeley's ſword fall to the ground. When the knight found that he had loſt his ſword, and that the ſquire had his, he diſmounted, and made for the place where his ſword lay: but he could not get there before the ſquire gave him a violent thruſt which paſſed through both his thighs, ſo that, not being able to help himſelf, he fell to the ground. John upon this diſmounted, and, ſeizing the ſword of the knight, advanced up to him and aſked him if he were willing to ſurrender.

The knight required his name: 'I am called John de Helennes," ſaid he, 'what is your name?' 'In truth, companion,' replied the knight, my name his Thomas, and I am lord of Berkeley, a very handſome caſtle ſituated on the river Severn, on the borders of Wales.' 'Lord of Berkeley,' ſaid the ſquire, 'you ſhall be my priſoner: I will place you in ſafety, and take care you are healed, for you appear to me to be badly wounded.' The knight anſwered, 'I ſurrender myſelf willingly, for you have loyally conquered me.' He gave him his word that he would be his priſoner, reſcued or not. John then drew his ſword out of the knight's thighs and the wounds remained open; but he bound them up tightly, and, placing him on his horſe, led him a foot-pace to Châtelherault.

He continued there, out of friendſhip to him, for fifteen days, and had medicin[illegible] to him. When the knight was a l[illegible] e had him placed in a litter, and c[illegible] e to his houſe in Picardy; where [illegible] e

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than a year before he was quite cured, though he continued lame; and when he departed, he paid for his ranfom fix thoufand nobles, fo that this fquire became a knight by the great profit he got from the lord of Berkeley.

CHAP. CLXI.

THE MANNER IN WHICH KING JOHN WAS TAKEN PRISONER AT THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

IT often happens, that fortune in war and love turns out more favourable and wonderful than could have been hoped for or expected. To fay the truth, this battle which was fought near Poitiers, in the plains of Beauvoir and Maupertuis, was very bloody and perilous: many gallant deeds of arms were performed that were never known, and the combatants on each fide fuffered much. King John himfelf did wonders: he was armed with a battle-axe, with which he fought and defended himfelf. The earl of Tancarville, in endeavouring to break through the crowd, was made prifoner clofe to him; as were alfo fir James de Bourbon, earl of Ponthieu, and the lord John d'Artois, earl of Eu. In another part, a littler farther off, the lord Charles d'Artois and many other knights and fquires were captured by the diviſion under the banner of the captal de Buch. The purfuit continued even to the gates of Poitiers, where there was much ſlaughter and overthrow of men and horfes; for the inhabitants of Poitiers had ſhut their gates, and would

ſuffer none to enter: upon which account, there was great butchery on the cauſeway, before the gate, where ſuch numbers were killed or wounded, that ſeveral ſurrendered themſelves the moment they ſpied an Engliſhman; and there were many Engliſh archers who had four, five, or ſix priſoners.

The lord of Pons, a powerful baron in Poitou, was ſlain there, as were ſeveral other knights and ſquires. The viſcount de Rochechouart, the lords de Partenay and de Saintonge, the lord of Montendre, were taken priſoners; as was the lord John de Saintré, but ſo beaten that he never afterward recovered his health: he was looked upon as the moſt accompliſhed knight in France. The lord Guiſcard d'Angle was left for ſlain among the dead: he had fought well that day.

The lord de Chargny, who was near the king, combated bravely during the whole engagement: he was always in the crowd, becauſe he carried the king's ſovereign banner: his own alſo was diſplayed in the field, with his arms, which were three eſcutcheons argent on a field gules. The Engliſh and Gaſcons poured ſo faſt upon the king's diviſion that they broke through the ranks by force; and the French were ſo intermixed with their enemies that at times there were five men attacking one gentleman. The lord of Pompadour and the lord Baitholomew de Brunes were there captured. The lord de Chargny was ſlain, with the banner of France in his hands, by the lord Re[illegible]
and afterwards the earl of Damma[illegible]
ſame fate.

'There was much preſſing at this time, through eagerneſs to take the king; and thoſe who were neareſt to him, and knew him, cried out, 'Surrender yourſelf, ſurrender yourſelf, or you are a dead man.' In that part of the field was a young knight from St. Omer, who was engaged by a ſalary in the ſervice of the king of England; his name was Denys de Morbeque; who for five years had attached himſelf to the Engliſh, on account of having been baniſhed in his younger days from France for a murder committed in an affray at St. Omer. It fortunately happened for this knight that he was at the time near to the king of France, when he was ſo much pulled about; he, by dint of force, for he was very ſtrong and robuſt, puſhed through the crowd, and ſaid to the king in good French, 'Sire, ſire, ſurrender yourſelf.' The king who found himſelf very diſagreeably ſituated, turning to him, aſked, 'To whom ſhall I ſurrender myſelf: to whom? Where is my couſin the prince of Wales? if I could ſee him, I would ſpeak to him.' 'Sire,' replied Sir Denys, 'he is not here; but ſurrender yourſelf to me, and I will lead you to him.' 'Who are you?' ſaid the king. 'Sire, I am Denys de Morbeque, a knight from Artois; but I ſerve the king of England, becauſe I cannot belong to France, having forfeited all I poſſeſſed there.' The king then gave him his right hand glove, and ſaid, 'I ſurrender myſelf to you.' There was much crowding and puſhing about, for every one was eager to cry out, 'I have taken him.' Neither the king nor his youngeſt ſon Philip were

able to get forward, and free themſelves from the throng.

The prince of Wales, who was as courageous as a lion, took great delight that day to combat his enemies. Sir John Chandos, who was near his perſon, and had never quitted it during the whole of the day, nor ſtopped to make priſoners, ſaid to him towards the end of the battle; 'Sir, it will be proper for you to halt here, and plant your banner on the top of this buſh, which will ſerve to rally your forces, that ſeem very much ſcattered; for I do not ſee any banners or pennons of the French; nor any conſiderable bodies able to rally againſt us; and you muſt refreſh yourſelf a little, as I perceive you are very much heated.'

Upon this the banner of the prince was placed on a high buſh: the minſtrels began to play, and trumpets and clarions to do their duty. The prince took off his helmet, and the knights attendant on his perſon, and belonging to his chamber, were ſoon ready, and pitched a ſmall pavilion of crimſon colour, which the prince entered. Liquor was then brought to him and the other knights who were with him: they increaſed every moment; for they were returning from the purſuit, and ſtopped there, ſurrounded by their priſoners.

As ſoon as the two marſhals were come back, the prince aſked them if they knew any thing of the king of France: they replied, 'No, ſir; not for a certainty; but we believe he muſt be either killed or made priſoner, ſince he has never quitted his battalion.' The prince then, addreſſing the earl of Warwick

Warwick and lord Cobham, ſaid; 'I beg of you to mount your horſes, and ride over the field, ſo that on your return you may bring me ſome certain intelligence of him.' The two barons, immediately mounting their horſes, left the prince, and made for a ſmall hillock, that they might look about them: from their ſtand they perceived a crowd of men at arms on foot, who were advancing very ſlowly. The king of France was in the midſt of them, and in great danger; for the Engliſh and Gaſcons had taken him from ſir Denys de Morbeque, and were diſputing who ſhould have him, the ſtouteſt bawling out, 'It is I that have got him:' 'No, no,' replied the others, 'we have him.' The king, to eſcape from this peril, ſaid, 'Gentlemen, gentlemen, I pray you conduct me and my ſon in a courteous manner to my couſin the prince; and do not make ſuch a riot about my capture, for I am ſo great a lord that I can make all ſufficiently rich.' These words, and others which fell from the king, appeaſed them a little; but the diſputes were always beginning again, and they did not move a ſtep without rioting. When the two barons ſaw this troop of people, they deſcended from the hillock, and ſticking ſpurs into their horſes, made up to them. On their arrival, they aſked what was the matter: they were anſwered, that it was the king of France, who had been made priſoner, and that upwards of ten knights and ſquires challenged him at the ſame time, as belonging to each of them. The two barons then puſhed through the crowd by main force, and ordered all to draw aſide. They

commanded, in the name of the prince, and under pain of inſtant death, that every one ſhould keep his diſtance, and not approach unleſs ordered or deſired ſo to do. They all retreated behind the king; and the two barons, diſmounting, advanced to the king with profound reverences, and conducted him in a peaceable manner to the prince of Wales.

CHAP. CLXII.

THE PRINCE OF WALES MAKES A HANDSOME PRESENT TO THE LORD JAMES AUDLEY, AFTER THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

SOON after the earl of Warwick and the lord Reginald Cobham had left the prince, as has been above related, he inquired from thoſe knights who were about him of lord James Audley, and aſked if any one knew what was become of him: 'Yes, ſir,' replied ſome of the company, 'he is very badly wounded, and is lying in a litter hard by.' 'By my troth,' replied the prince, 'I am ſore vexed that he is ſo wounded. See, I beg of you, if he be able to bear being carried hither: otherwiſe I will come and viſit him.' Two knights directly left the prince, and, coming to lord James, told him how deſirous the prince was of ſeeing him. 'A thouſand thanks to the prince,' anſwered lord James, 'for condeſcending to remember ſo poor a knight as myſelf.' He then called eight of his ſervants, and had himſelf borne in his litter to where

where the prince was. When he was come into his preſence, the prince bent down over him, and embraced him, ſaying; 'My lord James, I am bound to honour you very much; for, by your valour this day, you have acquired glory and renown above us all, and your proweſs has proved you the braveſt knight.' Lord James replied; 'My lord, you have a right to ſay whatever you pleaſe, but I wiſh it were as you have ſaid. If I have this day been forward to ſerve you, it has been to accompliſh a vow that I had made, and it ought not to be thought ſo much of.' 'Sir James,' anſwered the prince, 'I and all the reſt of us deem you the braveſt knight on our ſide in this battle; and to increaſe your renown, and furniſh you withal to purſue your career of glory in war, I retain you henceforward, for ever, as my knight, with five hundred marcs* of yearly revenue, which I will ſecure to you from my eſtates in England.' 'Sir,' ſaid lord James, 'God make me deſerving of the good fortune you beſtow upon me.' At theſe words he took leave of the prince, as he was very weak, and his ſervants carried him back to his tent: he could not have been at a great diſtance, when the earl of Warwick and lord Reginald Cobham entered the pavilion of the prince, and preſented the king of France to him.

The prince made a very low obeiſance to the king, and gave him as much comfort as he was able, which he knew well how to adminiſter. He

* The marc is 13s. 4d.—PHILLIPS.

ordered wine and ſpices to be brought, which he preſented to the king himſelf, as a mark of his great affection.

CHAP. CLXIII.

THE ENGLISH GAIN VERY CONSIDERABLY AT THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

THUS was this battle won, as you have heard related, in the plains of Maupertuis, two leagues from the city of Poitiers, on the 19th day of September 1356*. It commenced about nine o'clock, and was ended by noon; but the Engliſh were not all returned from the purſuit, and it was to recal his people that the prince had placed his banner upon a high buſh. They did not return till late after veſpers from purſuing the enemy.

It was reported that all the flower of French knighthood were ſlain; and that, with the king and his ſon the lord Philip, ſeventeen earls, without counting barons, knights or ſquires, were made priſoners, and from five to ſix thouſand of all ſorts left dead in the field.

* Froiſſart calls it the 22d day of September 1357; but Bouchet proves it to be a miſtake, in his Annales d'Aquitaine, from the regiſters of the convent where the noblemen that were ſlain were buried: and in my two MSS. it is 1356.

Alſo in the Annales Rerum Anglicarum, Willelmi Wincester, 1356. 'Hoc anno, XIX die Septembris, captio regis Johannis Franciæ, per Edwardum principem.'

When

When they were all collected, they found they had twice as many priſoners as themſelves: they therefore conſulted, if, conſidering the riſk they might run, it would not be more adviſable to ranſom them on the ſpot. This was done: and the priſoners found the Engliſh and Gaſcons very civil, for there were many ſet at liberty that day on their promiſe of coming to Bourdeaux before Chriſtmas to pay their ranſom.

When all were returned to their banners, they retired to their camp, which was adjoining to the field of battle. Some diſarmed themſelves, and did the ſame to their priſoners, to whom they ſhewed every kindneſs; for whoever made any priſoners, they were ſolely at his diſpoſal, to ranſom or not, as he pleaſed. It may be eaſily ſuppoſed that all thoſe who accompanied the prince were very rich in glory and wealth, as well by the ranſoms of their priſoners, as by the quantities of gold and ſilver plate, rich jewels, and trunks ſtuffed full of belts that were weighty from their gold and ſilver ornaments, and furred mantles. They ſet no value on armour, tents or other things; for the French had come there as magnificently and richly dreſſed as if they had been ſure of gaining the victory.

CHAP. CXLIV.

THE LORD JAMES AUDLEY GIVES TO HIS SQUIRES THE PENSION OF FIVE HUNDRED MARCS HE HAD RECEIVED FROM THE PRINCE.

WHEN the lord James Audley was brought back to his tent, after having moſt reſpectfully thanked the prince for his gift, he did not remain long before he ſent for his brother ſir Peter Audley, the lord Bartholomew Burgherſh, ſir Stephen Coſſington, lord Willoughby of Ereſby and lord William Ferrers of Groby: they were all his relations. He then ſent for his four ſquires that had attended upon him that day, and, addreſſing himſelf to the knights, ſaid; 'Gentlemen, it has pleaſed my lord the prince to give me five hundred marcs as a yearly inheritance; for which gift I have done him very trifling bodily ſervice. You ſee here theſe four ſquires, who have always ſerved me moſt loyally, and eſpecially in this day's engagement. What glory I may have gained has been through their means, and by their valour: on which account I wiſh to reward them. I therefore give and reſign into their hands the gift of five hundred marcs, which my lord the prince has been pleaſed to beſtow me, in the ſame form and manner that it has been preſented to me. I diſinherit myſelf of it, and give it to them ſimply, and without a poſſibility of revoking it.'

The knights preſent looked on each other, and ſaid, 'It is becoming the noble mind of lord James

to

to make ſuch a gift,' and then unanimouſly added; 'May the Lord God remember you for it! We will bear witneſs of this gift to them whereſoever and whenſoever they may call on us.'

They then took leave of him; when ſome went to the prince of Wales, who that night was to give a ſupper to the king of France from his own proviſions; for the French had brought vaſt quantities with them, which were now fallen into the hands of the Engliſh, many of whom had not taſted bread for the laſt three days.

CHAP. CLXV.

THE PRINCE OF WALES ENTERTAINS THE KING OF FRANCE AT SUPPER, THE EVENING AFTER THE BATTLE.

WHEN evening was come, the prince of Wales gave a ſupper in his pavilion to the king of France, and to the greater part of the princes and barons who were priſoners. The prince ſeated the king of France and his ſon the lord Philip at an elevated and well covered table: with them were ſir James de Bourbon, the lord John d'Artois, the earls of Tancarville, of Eſtampes, of Dammartin, of Graville, and the lord of Partenay. The other knights and ſquires were placed at different tables.

The prince himſelf ſerved the king's table, as well as the others, with every mark of humility, and would not ſit down at it, in ſpite of all his intreaties for him ſo to do, ſaying, that 'he was not worthy

worthy of ſuch an honor, nor did it appertain to him to ſeat himſelf at the table of ſo great a king, or of ſo valiant a man as he had ſhewn himſelf by his actions that day.' He added alſo with a noble air; 'Dear ſir, do not make a poor meal becauſe the Almighty God has not gratified your wiſhes in the event of this day; for be aſſured that my lord and father will ſhew you every honor and friendſhip in his power, and will arrange your ranſom ſo reaſonably, that you will henceforward always remain friends. In my opinion, you have cauſe to be glad that the ſucceſs of this battle did not turn out as you deſired; for you have this day acquired ſuch high renown for proweſs, that you have ſurpaſſed all the beſt knights on your ſide. I do not, dear ſir, ſay this to flatter you, for all thoſe of our ſide who have ſeen and obſerved the actions of each party, have unanimouſly allowed this to be your due, and decree you the prize and garland for it.'

At the end of this ſpeech there were murmurs of praiſe heard from every one; and the French ſaid, the prince had ſpoken nobly and truly, and that he would be one of the moſt gallant princes in Chriſtendom, if God ſhould grant him life to purſue his career of glory*.

CHAP.

* Extract taken from the convent of the Freres Mineurs, in the city of Poitiers, of the names of thoſe knights who were ſlain in the battle of Poitiers, and other gentlemen that were buried in that convent.

' Firſt, the underneath knights:

The

CHAP. CLXVI.

THE PRINCE OF WALES RETURNS TO BOURDEAUX, AFTER THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

WHEN they had ſupped and ſufficiently regaled themſelves, each departed to his lodging with the knights and ſquires they had captured. Thoſe that

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The duke of Athens, conſtable of France
The biſhop of Chalon, (Reg-nauld Chaveau—Chronique de Waſſebourg)
M. André, viſcount de Chauvigny
Sir Lewis de Broſſe
Sir John, lord of Mailly in Berry
Sir Geoffry de Chargny in Champagne
M. de Montjouan
Sir John de Liſle
Sir Gris Mouton de Chambely
Sir Peter de Chambely, his brother
M. de Chateau Vilain, in Champagne
Sir John de Montigny
Sir John de Maulmont
Sir John de Bourbon
Sir Philip de Boutennillier
Sir Hugh de Maille
Sir Geoffry de St. Dizier
Sir Aymery de la Barre
Sir William de Bleſe
Sir John de Grillon
M. de Chitre, lord de Rademonde
M. Clerin de Cherues
M. Baudin de Gargalingaen
Sir Anſiaulme de Hois
Sir Michael de Pommoy
Sir Richard de Beaulieu
Sir William de Fuylle
Sir Hugh Bonnyn
M. Dannée de Melon
Sir William de Creneur
Sir William de Linnieres
Sir Olivier de St. Giles
Sir William de Romeneuil
Sir John de Cranches
M. Yvon du Pont, lord of Rochecheruière
Sir William de Mongy
Sir John de Tigny
Sir John Brigdene
Sir John de Noirterre
Sir William de Paty
Sir Robert de Chalus
Sir Adam de Beauvilliers
Sir Bonabes de Roges
Sir Vynies de St. Denis

Sir

that had taken them aſked, what they could pay for their ranſoms, without much hurting their fortunes;

Sir Macé de Groſbois	William de la Jarracere,
Sir Louis de Nully	William Griau
Sir Simon Oynepuille	Olivier de Roſay
Sir Henry, his brother	Girard Delec
M. de Champrecour	Berart de Lemont
Sir William Sauvage	Heymonnet Embert
Sir William du Retail	Jobert d'Artoy
Sir Sequin de Cloux	Richard de Vendel
M. le Vidame de la Roche Dagon	William Seurin
	John du Flume
Sir Raoul de Reſay	John Defleat
Sir John de Mirabeau	Guy de Bournay
Sir Guiſcard de Chantylon	Le Moine de Montigny
M. Ancelin de Carou, lord of Hes	Guinet de Buyſſon
	John de Brimac
M. Guy des Barres, lord of Chaumont	Ymbert de Chamborant
	Brunet d'Augun
Sir John de Cloys	John S oyn
M. le Borgne de Prie.	Peter de . . Denis
SQUIRES.	Perrine de Pache
Bernard de Douzenac	Ferry Pate
Robert Gilles de Miraumont	John Dynie
Guicheux de Maronnay	Le Petit d'Inchequin
Girard de Pierre	Jehannot de Moutabis
William de la Foſſe	Jolivet Buffart
Robert de la Roche Pierre de Bras	John de Bourmeuille
	John Martin
John Ribriche, lord of Corbon	Ardouyn de la Touche
Celart Heraufant	William de Lufange
Hopart de Hanpedourt	Le Petit Bidaut de la Roche-degon.
Guymon Pery	

Many other bodies ſlain at the aforeſaid battle, by licence from the official, and permiſſion of the mayor of Poitiers, were brought in carts from the Freres Mineurs of that town, and

tunes; and willingly believed whatever they told them; for they had declared publicly, that they did

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and buried in large graves in their church-yard, without the church, the feaſt-day of St. Valentine 1356; and honourable obſequies were performed in all the churches and convents in the town of Poitiers, at the coſt of the good citizens of that town.

'Underneath are the names of thoſe who were buried in the church of les Freres Preſcheurs, of the town of Poitiers, which I have taken and extracted from the book called the Kalendar of the Convent, and tranſlated from the Latin into French, chapter fifth.

The duke of Bourbon on the right of the great altar.
The marechal de Clermont on the oppoſite ſide.
Lower down, but near him, ſir Aubert d'Anget.
After him the viſcount de Rochechouart.
In the middle of the choir, Aymer de la Rochefoucault.
At the entrance of the choir, on the right, ſir John de Sancerre.
In the chapel of the Magdalen, ſir John de St. Didier.
In the ſame chapel, near the wall, Thibaut de Laval.
In the chapel of the Apoſtles, near the wall, ſir Thomas de Motuz.
In the chapel of our Lady, ſir Walter de Montagu.
Adjoining to him, ſir Raoul Rabinard.
In the nave, near the door, ſir John Ferchaut.
Near to him, ſir Peter Marchadier, and Heliot his brother.
Oppoſite the ſtatue of St. Michael, ſir Oliver de Mouville.
On the other ſide, ſir Philip de Forges.
Before the great door, ſir William de Bar and ſir John de Nully.

'The names of thoſe who were interred in the cloiſters of the ſaid convent:

Le chevalier Miloton
Sir John de Chambes
Sir John Macillon
Sir Oliver de St. George
Sir Ymbert de St. Saturnin
Sir John de Ridde

Sir

did not wiſh to deal harſhly with any knight or ſquire that his ranſom ſhould be ſo burdenſome as to prevent his following the profeſſion of arms, or advancing his fortune.

Sir Hugh Odard
Sir Giles Cherchemont
Sir John de Senycé
Sir Wm. de Digoyne and his ſon
Sir John Drouyn de Metz in Loraine
Sir Robert d'Aulnay
Maſter John Dannemarie
Sir John de la Laing
Sir Simon de Renouylle
Sir Philip de Pierrefiche
Sir William de Mauſenac
Sir William de Miners
Sir Raoul de Bouteillier
Sir Peter de la Rocdete
The lord de la Fayete
A German called Erroys Pincerne
Sir Boulenuille, viſcount d'Aumalle
Sir John Fretart
Sir Robert Daucré
Sir John la Garde, ung appel le filz de roy
Sir Lewis Deſcrinel
Sir John de Vernicourt
Sir Peter Audouyn
Sir John de Vernoil
Sir John de Montmorillon and his ſon
Sir Hugelin de Vaux
Sir John de Almaigne
The lord d'Eſpraigny
Sir Hugh de Tinctes
The lord of St. Gildart.
Sir Henry de l'Aunoy
Sir Girard de Helchemané
Sir Gourard Guenif
Sir Vipert Beau
Sir Henry Michiuer
Sir John de Brié
Sir Raoul Seil
Sir Symon de Bleſy
Sir Hugh Orry de Melle
Sir Segnyn de Cluys
Sir Thomas de Baignel
Sir Peter Baillon.

'Eight were buried in three graves, whoſe names and ſirnames were unknown; and among them was the body of a knight, whoſe ſurcoat of arms was three chevrons or, in a ſhield gules.

'The arms of all the princes, knights, and lords above-mentioned were blazoned on the ſtalls of the convent, in order to keep them in perpetual remembrance.'

Bouchet's Annales d'Aquitaine, 4 me partie, folio 15.

Towards

Towards morning, when theſe lords had heard maſs, and had eaten and drank a little, whilſt the ſervants were packing up or loading the baggage, they decamped and advanced towards Poitiers.

That ſame night, the lord of Roy had entered the city of Poitiers with a hundred lances, that had not been engaged in the battle, for, having met the duke of Normandy near Chauvigny, he had commanded him to march for Poitiers, and to guard it until he ſhould receive other orders.

When the lord of Roye had entered Poitiers, he ordered the gates, towers, and walls to be well watched that night, on account of the Engliſh being ſo near; and on the morning he armed all ſorts of people, and poſted them wherever he judged moſt convenient for the defence of the town.

The Engliſh, however, paſſed by, without making any attempt upon it; for they were ſo laden with gold, ſilver, jewels, and great priſoners, that they did not attack any fortreſs in their march, but thought they ſhould do great things if they were able to convey the king of France and his ſon, with all their booty, in ſafety to the city of Bourdeaux. They returned, therefore, by eaſy marches, on account of their priſoners and heavy baggage, never advancing more than four or five leagues a-day: they encamped early, and marched in one compact body, without quitting the road, except the diviſion of the marſhals, who advanced in front, with about five hundred men at arms, to clear the country. They met with no reſiſtance any where; for the whole country was in a ſtate of conſternation, and

all the men at arms had retreated into the ſtrong fortreſſes.

During this march, the prince of Wales was informed how lord James Audley had made a preſent of his penſion of five hundred marcs to his four ſquires. He ſent for him: lord James was carried in his litter to the preſence of the prince, who received him very graciouſly, and ſaid to him; 'Sir James, I have been informed, that after you had taken leave of me, and were returned to your tent, you made a preſent to your four ſquires of the gift I preſented to you. I ſhould like to know if this be true, why you did ſo, and if the gift were not agreeable to you.'

'Yes, my lord,' anſwered lord James, 'it was moſt agreeable to me, and I will tell you the reaſons which induced me to beſtow it on my ſquires. Theſe four ſquires, who are here, have long and loyally ſerved me, on many great and dangerous occaſions; and until the day that I made them this preſent, I had not any way rewarded them for all their ſervices; and never in this life were they of ſuch help to me as on that day. I hold myſelf much bound to them for what they did at the battle of Poitiers; for, dear ſir, I am but a ſingle man, and can do no more than my powers admit, but, through their aid and aſſiſtance, I have accompliſhed my vow, which for a long time I had made, and by their means was the firſt combatant, and ſhould have paid for it with my life, if they had not been near to me. When, therefore, I conſider their courage, and the love they bear to

me,

me, I ſhould not have been courteous nor grateful, if I had not rewarded them. Thank God, my lord, I have a ſufficiency for my life, to maintain my ſtate; and wealth has never yet failed me, nor do I believe it ever will. If, therefore, I have in this acted contrary to your wiſhes, I beſeech you, dear ſir, to pardon me; for you will be ever as loyally ſerved by me and my ſquires, to whom I gave your preſent, as heretofore.' The prince anſwered; 'Sir James, I do not in the leaſt blame you for what you have done, but, on the contrary, acknowledge your bounty to your ſquires whom you praiſe ſo much. I readily confirm your gift to them; but I ſhall inſiſt upon your accepting of ſix hundred marcs, upon the ſame terms and conditions as the former gift.'

The prince of Wales and his army kept advancing, without meeting any obſtacle, and, having paſſed through Poitou and Saintonge, came to Blaye, where he croſſed the Garonne, and arrived in the good city of Bourdeaux*.

It

* 'A letter from the Black Prince to the biſhop of Worceſter, dated 20th October 1356, relating to the battle of Poitiers, wherein the French king was made priſoner, &c. Ex regiſtro Reginaldi Brien, Wigorn. epiſcopi, fol. 113.

'L'ra D'ni Principis Wall' de Capcione R. Franciae par le prince de Gales.

'Reve'nt piere en Dieu, et treſch' ami,—Nous vous mercions entierement de ce que nous avons entendu q' vous eſtes ſi bien et ſi naturelment porte dev's nous, en p'ant Dieux p'r nous et p'r n're exploit; et ſumes tout certiens q' p'r cauſe de vous devoutes p'eres et dautres, Dieu nous a eu toutes nos beſoignes be' vueliz aide; de quoi nous ſumes a touz jo's

It is not poſſible to relate all the feaſts and entertainments which the citizens and clergy of Bourdeaux made for the prince, and with what joy they received him and the king of France.

The prince conducted the king to the monaſtery of St. Andrew, where they were both lodged; the king on one ſide, and the prince on the other. The prince purchaſed from the barons, knights and ſquires of Gaſcony, the ranſoms of the greater part

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tenuz de lui grazier, en p'ant que v're part ancy vieullietz faire en continuant dev's nous come devant ces heures avetz fait de quoi nous nous tenons g'n'ment tenuz a vous. Et, rev'ent piere, endroit de n're eſtat, dont nous penceons bien q' vous deſirez la v're merci dpier bones nouvelles, vuellietz entendre q' a la faiſance de ceſtes eſtions ſains et heures et tout en bon point, loiez en ſoit Dieux q' nous donit y ces meſmes de vous toutes ſoitz oir et ſaver, et de ce nous vuellietz certifier p'r vos l'res et p' les entrevenantz a plus ſouvent q' vous p'res bonement en droit de nouvelles ceandroitz. Vueilletz ſavoir q' la veille de la tranſlation Saint Thomas de Canterbire, nouz commenceaſmes a chivauch' ove n're povar v's les parties de France et ſouvraignement p' cauſe q' nous entendiſmes la venue de n're treſhomm'e ſeign'r et piere le roy la endroitz, et ſi neiſmes dev's les parties de Berges en Berye, Orlions et Tours, et avions nouvelles q' le roy de France ove g'nt povar bien pres de celles marches venoit p' combattre ove no's, et approcheaſmes tantq' la battaille ſe priſt entre nous en tiele maniere q' les ennemis eſtoient diſconſitez, grace en ſoit Dieux, et le dit roi et ſon fils et pluſieurs autres g'ntz pris et mortz, les noms de queauz nous vous envions p' n're treſch' bachiler mons' Roger de Cottesford portoir de ceſtes. Rev'ent piere en Dieux, et n're treſch' ami, le Saint Eſprit vous ait toute jours en ſa guarde.

'Donné ſouz n're ſeal a Birdeaux, le xxe jour d' Octob'r.'

Archæologia, vol. i. p. 213.

of

of the French earls who were there, and paid ready money for them.

There were many meetings and diſputes among the knights and ſquires of Gaſcony, and others, relative to the capture of the king of France. On this account, Denys de Morbeque truly and by right of arms claimed him. He challenged another ſquire of Gaſcony, named Bernard de Trouttes, who had declared that he had an equal right to him. There was much diſputing between them before the prince and the barons preſent: and as they had engaged to fight each other, the prince put them under an arreſt, until they ſhould be arrived in England, and forbade any thing more being ſaid on the ſubject till they were in the preſence of the king his father.

However, as the king of France gave every aſſiſtance to ſir Denys in ſupport of his claim, and leaned more to him than to any of the other claimants, the prince ordered two thouſand nobles to be given privately to ſir Denys, in order to enable him the better to ſupport his rank.

Soon after the prince's arrival at Bourdeaux, the cardinal de Perigord came thither as, it was ſaid, ambaſſador from the pope. It was upwards of a fortnight before the prince would ſpeak to him, on account of the caſtellan of Ampoſta and his people having been engaged againſt him at the battle of Poitiers. The prince believed that the cardinal had ſent them thither; but the cardinal, through the means of his relations, the lord of Chaumont, the

lord of Montferrant and the captal of Buch, gave ſuch good reaſons for his conduct to the prince, that he admitted him to an audience. Having obtained this, he exculpated himſelf ſo clearly that the prince and his council were ſatisfied; and he regained the place he before held in the prince's affection. All his people were ſet at liberty at moderate ranſoms: the caſtellan's amounted to ten thouſand franks, which he paid.

The cardinal, ſoon after, began to touch upon the deliverance of king John: but I ſhall ſay little on that head, as nothing was done in the buſineſs.

The prince, with his Gaſcons and Engliſh, remained all that winter at Bourdeaux, where was much feaſting and merriment; and they fooliſhly expended the gold and ſilver they had gained.

In England alſo, there were great rejoicings, when the news arrived of the affair of Poitiers, and of the defeat of the French. Solemn thankſgivings were offered up in all churches, and bonefires made in every town and village. Thoſe knights and ſquires who returned to England, after having been in this battle, were honoured in preference to any others.

CHAP.

CHAP. CLXVII.

THE THREE ESTATES OF FRANCE ASSEMBLE AT PARIS, AFTER THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

DURING the time of this defeat at Poitiers, the duke of Lancaſter was in the county of Evreux, on the borders of Coutantin; and with him were ſir Philip de Navarre and the lord Godfrey de Harcourt. They had made war on Normandy from that quarter, and had continued to do ſo all that ſummer, on account of the king of Navarre, whom the king of France detained in priſon.

Theſe three lords had done all in their power to join the prince of Wales; but it was not poſſible, for all the paſſages of the river Loire were too well guarded. When they were informed that the prince had made the king of France priſoner, and of the manner in which the battle of Poitiers had been won, they were much pleaſed, and put an end to their excurſions; for the duke of Lancaſter and ſir Philip de Navarre wiſhed to go to England, which they did. They ſent ſir Godfrey de Harcourt to guard the frontiers, at St. Sauveur le Vicomte.

If the kingdom of England and its allies were much delighted with the capture of the king of France, that realm was ſore troubled and vexed. It had very good cauſe to be ſo; for there were great diſtreſſes and deſolations in every quarter, and men of underſtanding foreſaw that greater miſchiefs might ariſe: ſince the king of France and all the flower of chivalry of that kingdom were either ſlain

or made priſoners, and the three ſons of the king, Charles, Louis and John, who had eſcaped, were very young in years and underſtanding, ſo that no great expectation could be formed from them; and neither were they willing to undertake the government of the kingdom.

Add to this, that the knights and ſquires who had returned from the battle were ſo much deſpiſed and blamed by the common people, that they very unwillingly entered the great towns.

There were many conferences held, and much diſcontent appeared; when the moſt prudent and wiſe perceived that this ſtate could not continue, nor longer go on without ſome remedy; for the Engliſh and Navarrois were in force in Coutantin, under ſir Godfrey de Harcourt, who was overrunning and deſtroying the country. The prelates of the church, biſhops and abbots, and all the noblemen and knights, the provoſt of merchants and citizens of Paris, as well as the council from the other capital towns in the kingdom, aſſembled together in the city of Paris, in order to conſult and adviſe upon the beſt manner of governing the kingdom of France, until king John ſhould be ſet at liberty. But they were firſt determined to inquire what was become of the great ſums of money that had been raiſed in France by way of diſmes, maletoſtes*,

* *Maletoste*,—an extraordinary tax, or ſubſidy, levied the year 1296 by Philip le Bel, viz. at firſt the value of the hundredth, and afterwards of the fiftieth part of all either lay or churchman's goods.—COTGRAVE'S *Dictionary*.

ſubſidies,

ſubſidies, by the coinage and other vexations. Notwithſtanding the country had been much haraſſed and diſtreſſed by levying them, the army had been badly paid, and the kingdom ill guarded and defended: but there was no one that could give any account of them.

The clergy, therefore, reſolved to ſelect twelve of the wiſeſt from among themſelves, to conſider and determine what would be moſt adviſable to be done.

The barons and knights choſe twelve alſo, to attend to this buſineſs.

The citizens likewiſe did the ſame, according to their unanimous agreement. Theſe thirty-ſix perſonages were to remain at Paris, in order to confer together upon the better government of the kingdom; and all affairs were to be laid before theſe three eſtates: all prelates, noblemen, and all cities, towns and commonalties were to obey them and execute their orders.

In the beginning, however, there were many in this ſelection that were not agreeable to the duke of Normandy, or to his council.

The firſt act of the three eſtates was to forbid the coining any money in the manner in which it was then done, and to ſeize the dies. They next required of the duke of Normandy, that he would order the chancellor of the king his father to be arreſted, the Lord Robert Lorris, the lord Simon de Buci*, as well as many other maſters of ac-

* He was firſt preſident of the parliament.—HAINAULT.

counts and counſellors in former times to the king, that they might give a juſt account of what ſums through their advice had been levied and raiſed in the kingdom.

When all theſe perſonages heard of this, they quitted the realm as ſpeedily as poſſible, and took refuge in other kingdoms until the face of affairs ſhould be changed.

CHAP. CLXVIII.

THE THREE ESTATES SEND MEN AT ARMS AGAINST SIR GODFREY DE HARCOURT.

THE three eſtates, after this, eſtabliſhed and appointed, in their names, receivers to collect whatever taxes might be due to the king, or to the realm. They coined money of fine gold, which was called Moutons*: and they would with pleaſure have ſeen the king of Navarre delivered from

* The gold coin called *Moutons* had the impreſſion of the Agnus Dei, which the vulgar miſtook for a ſheep: hence it got the ridiculous name of Moutons. This coin was originally of the value of twelve ſols ſix deniers fine ſilver.

Annals of Scotland, vol. ii. note, p. 231.

Le mouton d'or was a coin on which was impreſſed the figure of a lamb, with this inſcription: 'Agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi, miſerere nobis;' and on the reverſe a croſs, with theſe words, 'Chriſtus vincit, Chriſtus regnat, Chriſtus imperat.'

There were fifty-two of theſe pieces in a marc of fine gold.

DU CANGE, *Gloss.* ad verb. *Muttones.*

his

his priſon in the caſtle of Crevecour in Cambreſis, where he was confined; for it appeared to many members of the three eſtates, that the kingdom would be ſtronger and more ably defended, provided he would be true and loyal; for there were few noblemen at that time in France that were able to make any good defence, the greater part having been ſlain or made priſoners at the battle of Poitiers. They therefore requeſted the duke of Normandy to give him his liberty; for they thought he had been unjuſtly uſed, nor did they know for what reaſon he was a priſoner. The duke replied, that he could not adviſe his being ſet at liberty; for the king his father had ordered him to be confined, and he was ignorant of the cauſe or reaſon of it.

At this period, news was brought to the duke and to three eſtates, that ſir Godfrey de Harcourt was waging a deſtructive war againſt Normandy; that his army, which was not very numerous, overran the country twice or thrice a-week, as far as the ſuburbs of Caen, of Saint Lo*, Evreux and Coutances, and no one went out to oppoſe him.

The duke and the three eſtates ordered an expedition of men at arms, conſiſting of three hundred lances and five hundred with iron armour: they nominated four captains to command them, the lord de Reyneval, the lord de Chauny, the lord de Riville, and the lord de Frianville. This army ſet

* A city of Normandy, ſituated on the Vire, dioceſe of Coutances.

out

out from Paris, and marched to Rouen, where there was a large body collected from different parts. There were many knights from Artois and Vermandois, ſuch as the lord of Crequi, the lord Lewis de Haveſquerque, the lord Edward de Renti, lord John de Fiennes, lord Enguerrant de Hédin, and many others: there came alſo from Normandy many expert men at arms. Theſe lords, with their troops, advanced until they came to the city of Coutances, which they garriſoned.

CHAP. CLXIX.

THE BATTLE OF COUTANTIN, BETWEEN SIR GODFREY DE HARCOURT, AND SIR RAOUL DE REYNEVAL.

WHEN ſir Godfrey de Harcourt, who was ſtrong, bold, and courageous, heard that the French were come to the city of Coutances, he collected together as many men at arms as poſſible, archers and other friends, and ſaid he would go to meet them. He left, therefore, St. Sauveur le Vicomte, accompanied by about ſeven hundred men, including every one.

This ſame day, the French alſo ſallied out, and had ſent forward their ſcouts to examine the country, who returned and informed their lords that they had ſeen the Navarrois.

On the other hand, ſir Godfrey had ſent out his ſcouts, who had taken a different road, and, having

examined the army of the French, had counted their banners and pennons, and to what numbers they amounted. Sir Godfrey, however, paid but little attention to their report: he ſaid, that ſince he ſaw his enemies he would fight with them. He immediately placed his archers in the front of his men, and drew up in battle-array the Engliſhmen and Navarrois.

When lord Raoul de Reyneval perceived how he had drawn up his men, he ordered part of the French to diſmount, and to place large ſhields before them to guard themſelves againſt the arrows, and for none to advance without his orders.

The archers of ſir Godfrey began to advance, as they were commanded, and to ſhoot their arrows with all their ſtrength. The French, who were ſheltered behind their ſhields, allowed them to ſhoot on, as this attack did not hurt them in the leaſt. They remained ſo long in their poſition without moving, that theſe archers had expended all their arrows; they then caſt away their bows, and began to fall back upon their men at arms, who were drawn up alongſide of a hedge, ſir Godfrey in the front with his banner diſplayed. The French then began to make uſe of their bows, and to pick up arrows every where, for there were plenty of them lying about, which they employed againſt the Engliſh and men of Navarre. The men at arms alſo made a vigorous charge; and the combat was very ſharp and ſevere, when they were come hand to hand; but the infantry of ſir

Godfrey

Godfrey would not keep their ranks, and were therefore ſoon diſcomfited.

Sir Godfrey, upon this, retreated into a vineyard which was incloſed with ſtrong hedges, and as many of his people as could get in followed him. When the French ſaw this, they all diſmounted, ſurrounded the place, and conſidered how they could beſt enter it. They examined it on every ſide, and at laſt found an entrance. As they went round, ſeeking a paſſage, ſir Godfrey and his men did the ſame, and halted at the weakeſt part of the hedge.

As ſoon as the French had gained this entrance, many gallant deeds of arms were performed; but it coſt the French dear before they were complete maſters of it. The banner of ſir Raoul was the firſt that entered. He followed it, as did the other knights and ſquires.

When they were all in the incloſure, the combat was renewed with greater vigour, and many a one was beat down. The army of ſir Godfrey would not keep the order which he had appointed, according to the promiſe made to him; but the greater part fled, and could not withſtand the French.

Sir Godfrey, on ſeeing this, declared, that he would prefer death to being taken, and, arming himſelf with a battle-axe, halted where he was: he placed one foot before the other to be firmer; for he was lame of one leg, though very ſtrong in his arms.

In this poſition, he fought a long time moſt valiantly, ſo that few dared to encounter his blows. When two Frenchmen mounted their horſes, and, placing their lances in their reſts, charged him at the ſame time, and ſtruck him to the ground: ſome men at arms immediately ruſhed upon him with their ſwords, which they ran through his body, and killed him on the ſpot. The greater part of his army were ſlain or made priſoners, and thoſe who were able to eſcape, returned to St. Sauveur le Vicomte. This happened in the winter of 1356, about Martinmas.

CHAP. CLXX.

THE PRINCE OF WALES CONDUCTS THE KING OF FRANCE FROM BOURDEAUX TO ENGLAND.

AFTER the death of the before-mentioned knight, ſir Godfrey de Harcourt, as ſoon as the country had been freed from his incurſions by the defeat of his troops, the French returned to Coutances, carrying with them their booty and priſoners. Shortly afterward, they returned to Paris, to the duke of Normandy, who was ſtyled Regent, and to the three eſtates, who paid much honor to the knights and ſquires who had been in Coutantin.

From that time, the town of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, and all the landholders of ſir Godfrey de Harcourt, attached themſelves to the Engliſh; for he had ſold it, ſubject to his life, to the king of England,

England, and had diſinherited the lord Louis de Harcourt, his nephew, becauſe he would not follow his party.

When the king of England was informed of the death of ſir Godfrey, he lamented him much, but embarked men at arms, knights, ſquires, and croſs-bowmen, to the amount of upwards of four hundred men, to take poſſeſſion of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, which was well worth thirty thouſand livres annual rent. He nominated the lord John Liſle governor of the lands and caſtles.

The three eſtates, all this time, paid great attention to the better ordering of the realm of France, which was governed by them.

The prince of Wales, and the greater part of thoſe lords who had been with him at the battle of Poitiers, remained all this winter at Bourdeaux, revelling, making preparations of ſhipping, and ſettling their own affairs, or engaged in making arrangements for conducting the king of France, his ſon and the principal lords who were priſoners, to England.

When the ſeaſon was ſufficiently advanced, and every thing was ready for the prince's departure, he ſent for the great barons of Gaſcony, the lord d'Albret firſt, and the lords de Mucident, de l'Eſparre, de Longueren, de Pumiers, de Courton, de Roſem, de Chaumont, de Montferrant, de Landuras, ſir Aymery de Tarſe, the captal de Buch, the ſouldich de la Trane, and many others. He received them with every ſign of affection and friendſhip, and promiſed them great rewards and profits,

profits, which is all that a Gaſcon loves or deſires. He then informed them of his intention of going to England, that he ſhould take ſome of them with him, and the reſt he ſhould leave in different parts of the province, to guard the frontiers againſt the French, and ſhould put all the cities and caſtles under their management, as if they were their own property.

When the Gaſcons learnt that the prince of Wales intended taking away with him the king of France, whom they had aſſiſted to make priſoner, they were unwilling to conſent to it, and ſaid to the prince; 'Dear ſir, we owe you, as it becomes us, all honor and obedience, to the utmoſt of our power; but it is not our intention you ſhould carry the king of France from us, who have ſo largely contributed by our ſervices to place him in the ſituation he is now in. Thank God, he is at preſent well in health and in a good city; and we are powerful enough to guard him againſt any force France may ſend to take him from us.'

The prince replied; 'My dear lords, I willingly agree to all you have ſaid, but the king, my father, wiſhes to have him, and to ſee him. We are very ſenſible and thankful for the ſervices which you have done both to him and myſelf, and you may depend on being handſomely rewarded for them.' Theſe words, however, did not ſatisfy the Gaſcons, nor would they agree to the departure of the king of France, until lord Reginald Cobham and ſir John Chandos found a means of appeaſing them.

They

They were well acquainted with the avaricious diſpoſition of the Gaſcons, and therefore ſaid to the prince, 'Sir, ſir, offer them a handſome ſum of florins, and you will ſee they will ſoon comply with whatever you wiſh.' Upon this, the prince offered them ſixty thouſand florins; but they would not liſten to him: at laſt it was ſettled that the prince ſhould give them one hundred thouſand florins, to be diſtributed among the barons of Gaſcony, and that he might ſet out with the king when he pleaſed.

After this, he nominated four of them as governors of the country until his return; the lords d'Albret, de l'Eſparre, de Pumiers, and de Roſem. This being done, the prince embarked on board a handſome ſhip, and took with him a great many Gaſcons: among them were the captal de Buch, ſir Aymery de Tarſe, the lord de Landuras, the lord de Mucident, the ſouldich de la Trane, and many others.

The king of France was in a ſhip by himſelf, in order that he might be more at his eaſe.

In the fleet, there were five hundred men at arms and two thouſand archers, to guard againſt any accidents at ſea, and alſo becauſe the prince had been informed before he left Bourdeaux, that the three eſtates, who then governed France, had raiſed two large armies, which were poſted in Normandy and at Crotoy*, to meet the Engliſh,

* A village in Picardy, near the mouth of the Somme.

and

and to carry off the king, but they ſaw nothing of them.

They were eleven days and nights at ſea, and on the twelfth they arrived at Sandwich, where they diſembarked and took up their quarters in the town and neighbourhood. They remained there two days to refreſh themſelves, and, on the third, ſet out and came to Canterbury.

When the king of England was informed of their arrival, he gave orders for the citizens of London to make ſuch preparations as were ſuitable to receive ſo great a prince as the king of France. Upon which they all dreſſed themſelves very richly in companies, and the different manufactories of cloth appeared with various pageants.

The king and prince remained one day at Canterbury, where they made their offerings to the ſhrine of St. Thomas.

On the morrow, they rode to Rocheſter, where they repoſed themſelves. The third day they came to Dartford, and the fourth to London, where they were received with every honor and diſtinction, as indeed they had been by all the chief towns on their road.

The king of France, as he rode through London, was mounted on a white ſteed, with very rich furniture, and the prince of Wales on a little black hackney by his ſide. He rode through London thus accompanied to the palace of the Savoy, which was part of the inheritance of the duke of Lancaſter.

There the king of France kept his houſehold for ſome time: and there he was viſited by the king and queen of England, who often entertained him ſumptuouſly, and afterward were very frequent in their viſits, conſoling him all in their power.

The cardinals de Perigord and de St. Vital ſoon after came to England, by command of pope Innocent VI. They endeavoured to make peace between the two kingdoms, which they laboured hard to effect, but without ſucceſs. However, by ſome fortunate means they procured a truce between the two kings and their allies, to laſt until St. John the Baptiſt's day 1359.

The lord Philip de Navarre and his allies, the counteſs of Montfort and the duchy of Brittany, were excluded from this truce.

Shortly afterward, the king of France and all his houſehold were removed from the palace of the Savoy to Windſor Caſtle*, where he was permitted to hunt and hawk, and take what other diverſions he pleaſed in that neighbourhood, as well as the lord Philip his ſon. The reſt of the French lords remained at London, but they viſited the king as often as they pleaſed, and were priſoners on their parole of honor.

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* He was afterward confined in Hertford Caſtle, under the guard of Roger de Beauchamp. David king of Scotland was likewiſe a priſoner there. John was removed to different other caſtles, from a ſuſpicion of his being delivered by treaſon or force.—ASHMOLE.

CHAP.

CHAP. CLXXI.

DAVID BRUCE, KING OF SCOTLAND, OBTAINS HIS LIBERTY.

YOU have before heard how king David of Scotland had been a priſoner in England, where he had remained upwards of nine years. Shortly after this truce was agreed to between France and England, the two cardinals, in conjunction with the biſhop of St. Andrew's in Scotland, undertook the enlargement of the king of Scotland.

The treaty was formed upon this ground, that the king of Scotland ſhould never bear arms againſt the king of England, in his realm: neither adviſe nor conſent that any of his ſubjects ſhould moleſt or wage war upon the Engliſh: that the king of Scotland, upon his return to his kingdom, ſhould make every exertion in his power to obtain his ſubjects' conſent that the crown of Scotland be held in fief and homage from the king of England. If the country would not ſubmit to this, then the king of Scotland ſhould ſwear ſolemnly to maintain and keep a firm and laſting peace with the king of England.

He was alſo to bind himſelf and his kingdom, as its own real lord and heir, in the payment of five hundred thouſand nobles within ten years. And upon the demand of the king of England he was to ſend good hoſtages and ſecurities for the performance of this treaty, ſuch as the earl of Douglas,

the earl of Moray, the earl of Mar, the earl of Sutherland, the earl of Fife, ſir Thomas Biſſet and the biſhop of Caithneſs, who were to remain in England as priſoners or hoſtages for their lord and king until there ſhould have been paid the whole of the above ſum.

Public inſtruments were drawn up according to theſe reſolutions and obligations, with letters patent, ſealed by each of the kings.

The king of Scotland then left England, and returned to his own country, with his queen Johanna*, ſiſter to the king of England. He was received by his ſubjects with every honorable mark of diſtinction, and, after having viſited them, gave orders for his caſtle of Scone, near Perth, to be re-

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* 'There is a ſtrange diverſity among hiſtorians concerning the time of the death of this ill-fated lady. Fordun, l. xiv. c. 16. ſays, that ſhe went to England in 1357, and died after ſhe had remained there ſome time. In Scala Chron. ap. Leland, it is ſaid, the queen of Scotland, ſiſter to king Edward, came out of Scotland to Wyndeſore, to ſpeak with him, and after was with her mother, queen Iſabella, at Hertford, and there died. This imports, that ſhe died either before her mother, or ſoon after her. It is certain her mother died in the autumn 1358. Fordun and the author of Scala Chronica are in a miſtake. Queen Johanna muſt have lived beyond the year 1357 or the year 1358. Her huſband ſpeaks of her as alive on the 21ſt February 1358-9, Fœdera, vol. vi. p. 180. Nay more, on the 2d May 1362, a paſſport is granted by Edward III. to John Herying, the ſervant of Johanna queen of Scotland, our ſiſter, Fœdera;—and, therefore, I incline to follow Walſingham, p. 179, who places her death in 1362.'—ANNALS.

paired,

paired, as it was in ruins. This is a good and commercial town, ſituated upon a river called the Tay*.

CHAP. CLXXII.

THE DUKE OF LANCASTER LAYS SIEGE TO RENNES.

ABOUT the middle of May, in the year 1357, the duke of Lancaſter raiſed a large body of men at arms, of Engliſh and Bretons, for the aſſiſtance of the counteſs of Montfort and her young

* 'The treaty, which had been in agitation ſo many years, was at length concluded, at Berwick, 3d October 1357. By it the king of Scots was releaſed, after a captivity of *eleven* years. The Scottiſh nation agreed to pay one hundred thouſand marks ſterling as the ranſom of their ſovereign, by yearly payments of ten thouſand marks on the 24th June.

'Twenty young men of quality, and among them the eldeſt ſon of the Stewart, were to be given as hoſtages: and for further ſecurity, three of the following great lords were to place themſelves in the hands of the Engliſh: the Stewart, the earls of March, Mar, Roſs, Angus, and Sutherland, lord Douglas and Thomas Moray of Bothwell. It was provided, that a truce ſhould continue between the two nations until complete payment of the ranſom.

'The king of Scots, the nobility and the boroughs, ratified this treaty the 5th of October, and the biſhops ratified it on the following day.

'David, immediately after his releaſe, ſummoned a parliament, laid the treaty before the three eſtates, obtained their approbation, and then ratified the treaty anew, at Scone, 6th November.'—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 244.

ſon, who at that time bore arms, and was a party in their excurſions. There might be a thouſand men at arms, well equipped and appointed, and five hundred others among the archers.

This army left Hennebon, ſcouring and burning all the country until they came to the good town of Rennes, which the duke beſieged on every ſide, and lay a long time before it, making many aſſaults, by which he gained not much, for there were in the town the viſcount de Rohan, the lord de Laval, ſir Charles de Dinan, and many others.

There was alſo in the town a young knight-bachelor called ſir Bertrand du Gueſclin, who, during the ſiege of Rennes, fought with an Engliſhman named ſir Nicholas Dagworth. The terms of the combat were to be three courſes with ſpears, three ſtrokes with battle-axes, and three ſtabs with daggers. The two knights behaved moſt valiantly, and parted without hurting each other. They were ſeen with pleaſure by both armies*.

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* The hiſtorian of Brittany ſays, it was William de Blancbourg, brother to the governor of Fougerai, who had been ſlain by Bertrand. In confirmation of this, Dugdale makes no mention of this duel, which he would probably have done, had ſir Nicholas Dagworth been the perſon.

Bertrand, in the firſt courſe, pierced the coat of mail of Blancbourg, and his own helmet ſuffered the ſame. The two enſuing courſes were harmleſs. Bertrand aſked if he would run three more: which was accepted. In the firſt courſe, Bertrand ſtruck him ſo violently on the body, his lance entered very deep, and unhorſed him. He would not kill him, from reſpect to the duke of Lancaſter, but ſeized his horſe, which he carried away as a trophy of his victory.

The

The lord Charles of Blois was at that time returned to the country: but, as he could not bear arms himſelf, he was perpetually teazing the regent of France to ſend him a ſufficiency of men at arms to raiſe the ſiege of Rennes. But the regent was too much occupied with the affairs of France, which were in great confuſion, to attend to his requeſt, and therefore the ſiege of Rennes was ſtill continued.

CHAP. CLXXIII.

A KNIGHT OF THE COUNTRY OF EVREUX, CALLED SIR WILLIAM DE GRAVILLE, RE-CONQUERS THE CITY AND CASTLE OF EVREUX FROM THE KING OF FRANCE, WHO HAD TAKEN IT FROM THE KING OF NAVARRE.

A KNIGHT, named the lord de Graville, who was attached to the king of Navarre by his faith and oath, was much hurt at his impriſonment, as were likewiſe many of the inhabitants of the Evreux; but they could not help themſelves ſo long as the caſtle was in the enemy's poſſeſſion. This ſir William lived about two ſhort leagues from Evreux, and whenever he came to that city, was received by a citizen, who in former times had been a great friend to the king of Navarre.

When ſir William came to the houſe of this citizen, he eat with him, and, during their repaſts, diſcourſed on various ſubjects, but generally of the

king of Navarre, and of his imprisonment which vexed them sorely.

It happened one day that sir William said to him; 'If you will give me your assistance, I will surely re-conquer this city and castle for the king of Navarre.' 'How will you do that?' replied the citizen, 'for the governor is strongly attached to the French interest; and, without having gained the castle, we dare not shew ourselves, for he is master of the town and suburbs.' Sir William answered; 'I will tell you: you must get three or four citizens of your friends, that are of the same way of thinking as yourself, and fill your houses well with armed men that can be depended on; and I promise you on my head, that we will enter the castle by a trick, without incurring any danger.'

The citizen was so active, that he soon collected a hundred of his friends, who were as well inclined as himself.

Sir William went in and out of the town without any suspicion; for he had not borne arms in the last expedition with the lord Philip de Navarre, because the greater part of his property lay near to Evreux, and the king of France, at the time he conquered Evreux, had made all the landholders in the neighbourhood swear allegiance to him, otherwise he would have taken possession of their lands; he had thus only gained outwardly their affections, but their hearts remained attached to the interest of Navarre.

If king John, however, had been in France, this sir William would not have dared to attempt what he

he performed. But he perceived the embarraſſed ſtate of public affairs, and that the three eſtates were deſirous of giving the king of Navarre his liberty.

Sir William having made his preparations, the citizens were appriſed what they were to do: he armed himſelf at all points, put on a ſhort gown, and over all his cloak. He had under his arm a ſmall battle-axe, and, thus equipped, he came, attended by his ſervant, whom he had let into the ſecret, to walk upon the ſquare before the caſtle, as had been of late his cuſtom. He walked there ſo long a time, that the governor, who uſually came to the gate twice or thrice about that time, opened the gate of the caſtle to look about him, but it was only the wicket-gate, and he placed himſelf right before it. When ſir William perceived him, he approached nearer by little and little, ſaluting him moſt reſpectfully. The governor, though he returned the ſalute, kept his poſition. Sir William, however, at laſt came up to him, and began to converſe with him on different ſubjects: he inquired if he had heard what was doing in France. The governor, from being conſtantly ſhut up in the caſtle, had enjoyed little communication from without, and, being eager to learn the news, replied that he had heard nothing, and would thank him to let him know what was paſſing. 'Very willingly,' anſwered ſir William: 'It is reported in France, that the kings of Denmark and Iceland have made an alliance, and have ſworn never to return to their own countries before they ſhall have

deſtroyed

deſtroyed England and brought back the king of France to Paris. They have an armament at ſea, with upwards of one hundred thouſand men: and the Engliſh are ſo much alarmed and frightened that they know not which way to turn themſelves to defend their coaſts; for it was a very old ſaying with them that they were to be deſtroyed by the Danes.' The governor inquired from whom he had learnt this news: ſir William ſaid, that a knight in Flanders had written it to him as a fact, and added, 'He has ſent me the handſomeſt ſet of cheſs men I ever ſaw.' He had invented this tale, becauſe he had learnt the governor was very fond of playing at cheſs. The governor ſaid, he ſhould be very glad to ſee them. 'Well,' replied ſir William, 'I will ſend for them, but on condition you play with me for ſome wine;' and, turning to his ſervant, ſaid, 'Go, look for the cheſs-board and men, and bring them to us at the gate.'

The ſervant ſet off, and the governor and ſir William entered the firſt gate of the caſtle. The governor faſtened the wicket on the inſide with a bolt, but did not lock it. Sir William ſaid; 'Governor, open this ſecond gate: you may do it without any riſk.' The governor opened the wicket only, and let ſir William paſs through to ſee the inſide of the caſtle, while he himſelf followed.

The ſervant, in the mean time, went to thoſe citizens who had the armed men in their houſes, led them up to the caſtle, and then blew his horn, as had been agreed on between him and his maſter. When ſir William heard the horn, he ſaid to the

governor; 'Let us go out, and paſs this ſecond gate, for my ſervant will ſoon return.' Sir William re-paſſed this wicket, and ſtood cloſe by it on the other ſide. When the governor had put one foot through, and had lowered his head, ſir William drew out the axe he had under his cloak, and ſtruck him ſuch a blow that he ſplit his head aſunder, and felled him dead on the ſill of the door. He then went to the firſt gate, which he opened.

The watch of the caſtle had heard with aſtoniſhment the ſervant's horn, for it had been proclaimed in the city, that no one ſhould dare to ſound a horn, under pain of loſing his hand. He perceived alſo armed men running towards the caſtle: upon which he ſounded his horn, and cried out, 'Treaſon! treaſon!'

Thoſe that were in the caſtle haſtened to the gate, which to their ſurpriſe, they found open, the governor lying dead acroſs it, and ſir William, his axe in his hand, guarding the paſſage. The men at arms, who were to aſſiſt him, ſoon arrived, and, having paſſed the firſt and ſecond gates, fiercely drove back the garriſon.

Several were killed, and as many taken as they choſe. They entered the caſtle: and in this manner was the ſtrong caſtle of Evreux retaken: the citizens and inhabitants of the town immediately ſurrendered, when they drove out all the French.

They ſent to inform lord Philip de Navarre of this event, who was but lately returned from England. He came immediately to Evreux, and made it his principal garriſon to carry the war into the rich

rich country of Normandy. There were with him ſir Robert Knolles, ſir James Pipe, the lord Fricquet de Fricquant, le Baſcle de Marneil, ſir John Jewel, who afterwards, as you will hear in this hiſtory, did much miſchief to France.

CHAP. CLXXIV.

THE ARCHPRIEST ASSEMBLES A COMPANY OF MEN AT ARMS. HE IS MUCH HONOURED AT AVIGNON.

ABOUT this period, a knight, named ſir Arnold de Cervole, but more commonly called the Archprieſt, collected a large body of men at arms, who came from all parts, ſeeing that their pay would not be continued in France, and that, ſince the capture of the king, there was not any probability of their gaining more in that country.

They marched firſt into Provence, where they took many ſtrong towns and caſtles, and ruined the country by their robberies as far as Avignon. Pope Innocent VI., who reſided in Avignon, was much alarmed, as not knowing what might be the intentions of the archprieſt, the leader of theſe forces; and, for fear of perſonal inſult, he and the cardinals kept their houſeholds armed day and night.

When the archprieſt and his troops had pillaged all the country, the pope and clergy entered into treaty with him. Having received proper ſecurity, he and the greater part of his people entered Avignon,

non, where he was received with as much reſpect as if he had been ſon to the king of France. He dined many times with the pope and cardinals, who gave him abſolution from all his ſins; and, at his departure, they preſented him with forty thouſand crowns, to diſtribute among his companions.

Theſe men, therefore, marched away to different places, following, however, the directions of the archprieſt.

CHAP. CLXXV.

A WELSHMAN, OF THE NAME OF RUFFIN*, COMMANDS A TROOP OF THE FREE COMPANIES.

AT this time alſo, there was another company of men at arms, or robbers, collected from all parts, who ſtationed themſelves between the rivers Loire and Seine, ſo that no one dared to travel between Paris and Orleans, nor between Paris and Montargis, or even to remain in the country: the inhabitants of the plains, and near Orleans, had all fled to Paris.

This company had choſen for their leader a Welſhman, of the name of Griffith, whom they had knighted, and who acquired ſuch immenſe riches, as could not be counted.

Theſe companies advanced one day near to Paris, another day towards Orleans, another time to Chartres; and there was no town nor fortreſs

* Barnes calls him *Griffith*, but mentions no authority.

but

but what was taken and pillaged, excepting ſuch as were ſtrongly garriſoned.

St. Arnout*, Galardon†, Broumaulx, Alees, Eſtampes‡, Chartres§, Montlehery‖, Plouviers in the Gatinois, Milly¶, Larchant**, Châtillon††, Montargis‡‡, Yſſieres, were plundered, and ſo many other towns that it would be difficult to recount them all.

They rode over the country in parties of twenty, thirty or forty, meeting with none to check their pillage.

While, on the ſea-coaſt of Normandy, there were a ſtill greater number of Engliſh and Navarrois, plunderers and robbers. Sir Robert Knolles was their leader, who conquered every town and caſtle he came to, as there was no one to oppoſe him.

Sir Robert had followed this trade for ſome time, and by it had gained upwards of 100,000 crowns. He kept a great many ſoldiers in his pay; and, being very liberal, he was cheerfully followed and obeyed.

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* A town in Beauce, election of Dourdon.

† A town in Beauce, election of Chartres.

‡ A city in Beauce, thirteen leagues from Paris.

§ A city of Orleanois, capital of Beauce, twenty-two leagues from Paris.

‖ A town in the iſle of France, ſeven leagues from Paris.

¶ A market-town in Gatinois.

** St. Mathurin de Larchant, a town in Gatinois.

†† A town in Beauce, election of Châteaudun.

‡‡ Capital of Gatinois, twenty-ſeven leagues and a half from Paris.

CHAP.

CHAP. CLXXVI.

THE PROVOST OF THE MERCHANTS OF PARIS KILLS THREE KNIGHTS IN THE APARTMENT OF THE REGENT.

DURING the time that the three eſtates governed the kingdom, all ſorts of people united themſelves together, under the name of Free Companies: they made war upon every man that was worth robbing.

I muſt here inform you, that the nobles and prelates of the realm and church began to be weary of the government and regulations of the three eſtates; they therefore permitted the provoſt of the merchants at Paris to ſummon ſome of the citizens, becauſe they were going greater lengths than they approved of.

It happened one day, when the regent of France was in his palace at Paris, with many knights, nobles and prelates, that the provoſt of the merchants collected alſo a great number of the common people of Paris who were devoted to him, all wearing caps* ſimilar to his own, that they might know each other; and, attended by this crowd, the provoſt came to the palace.

He entered the apartment of the duke, and demanded of him, in an inſolent manner, to take the management of the kingdom of France, and to govern it wiſely (ſince it would become his by in-

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* Mi partie bleu.

heritance),

heritance), that all thoſe free companies, who at preſent were overrunning the country, might be prevented from doing further miſchief.

The duke replied, that he would very willingly comply with his requeſt, if he had the means to carry it into execution; but that it more properly belonged to thoſe who had raiſed and received the impoſts, due to the realm, to perform it. I cannot pretend to ſay how it happened, but words increaſed ſo much and with ſuch warmth that at laſt three of the principal counſellors of the duke were ſlain, and ſo near to him that their blood flew over his robe: he himſelf was in very great danger, but they had put one of their caps on his head, and he conſented to pardon the death of his three knights. Two of them were knights of arms, and the other of laws. Their names were, the lord Robert de Clermont, a gallant and magnificent knight, and the lord de Conflans: the knight of laws was the lord Simon de Buci*.

* Etienne Marcel was provoſt of the merchants. The preſident, Henault, only mentions Robert de Clermont, marechal de Normandie, and Jean de Conflans, marechal de Champagne, as having been ſlain in the apartment of the regent.—Mezeray ſays the ſame. Simon de Buci he ſtates as premier preſident, and enobled 1369. This inſolence of Marcel he puts under the year 1358, and the king of Navarre's eſcape from priſon 1357.

CHAP. CLXXVII.

BY WHAT MEANS THE KING OF NAVARRE ESCAPES OUT OF PRISON.

SHORTLY after this happened, the lord John de Piquigny and ſome other knights, through the advice of the provoſt of merchants and the principal perſons of ſome of the other conſiderable towns, went to the ſtrong caſtle of Alleres* in Pailleul, ſituated in Picardy, where the king of Navarre was impriſoned, under the guard of ſir Triſtan du Bois. Theſe gentlemen brought ſuch certain and aſſured tokens to the governor that he allowed them to watch the opportunity when ſir Triſtan ſhould be abſent, ſo that by their means the king of Navarre was delivered out of his priſon, and carried by them, with great joy, to Amiens, where he was gladly and honourably received.

He diſmounted at the houſe of a canon, who was much attached to him, whoſe name was the lord Guy Kyrec. The king was conducted thither by lord John de Piquigny, and he remained with the canon fifteen days, until he had completed his equipage, and was aſſured of the duke of Normandy's diſpoſitions; for the provoſt of merchants, who much loved him, obtained by intreaties his

* Q. if not Allery, which is a town in Picardy, near to Amiens. It was ſaid before, that the caſtle of Crevecœur was his priſon.—Barnes ſays it was *Arleux*, a town in the dioceſe of Cambray and Douay.

pardon from the duke, as well as from his fellow-citizens at Paris.

Upon this, the king of Navarre was eſcorted to Paris by the lord John de Piquigny and others citizens of Amiens, where he was gladly ſeen by all ſorts of people: even the duke of Normandy entertained him; for it was neceſſary he ſhould do ſo, as the provoſt and his faction had exhorted him to it; and the duke diſſembled his own inclinations, to comply with thoſe of the provoſt and the Pariſians.

CHAP. CLXXVIII.

THE KING OF NAVARRE MAKES A SOLEMN HARANGUE TO THE PARISIANS.

WHEN the king of Navarre had been ſome time in Paris, he collected an aſſembly of all ſorts of people; prelates, knights, and the ſtudents at the univerſity. He made to them a very long and ſtudied harangue in Latin. The duke of Normandy was likewiſe preſent. He complained of the grievances and ills he had unjuſtly ſuffered, and ſaid, that no one could poſſibly entertain a doubt but that his ſole wiſh muſt be to live and die defending the realm and crown of France.

It was his duty ſo to do; for he was deſcended from it, in a direct line, both by father and mother; and by his words he gave them to underſtand, that if he choſe to challenge the realm and crown of France for himſelf, he could ſhew that his

his right to them was inconteſtably ſtronger than that of the king of England.

It muſt be obſerved, that he was heard with great attention, and much commended. Thus, by little and little, he won the hearts of the Pariſians, who loved and reſpected him more than they did the regent duke of Normandy. Many other cities and towns in France followed this example: but, notwithſtanding all the love and affection which the provoſt of merchants and the Pariſians ſhewed to the king of Navarre, the lord Philip de Navarre would not be ſeduced by it, or conſent to come to Paris. He ſaid, that in commonalties there was neither dependance nor union, except in the deſtruction of every thing good.

CHAP. CLXXIX.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE INFAMOUS JACQUERIE OF BEAUVOISIS.

SOON after the deliverance of the king of Navarre out of priſon, a marvellous and great tribulation befel the kingdom of France, in Beauvoiſis, Brie, upon the river Marne, in the Laonnois and in the neighbourhood of Soiſſons. Some of the inhabitants of the country towns aſſembled together in Beauvoiſis, without any leader: they were not at firſt more than one hundred men. They ſaid, that the nobles of the kingdom of France, knights and ſquires, were a diſgrace to it,

and that it would be a very meritorious act to deſtroy them all: to which propoſition every one aſſented, as a truth, and added, ſhame befal him that ſhould be the means of preventing the gentlemen from being wholly deſtroyed.

They then, without further council, collected themſelves in a body, and with no other arms than the ſtaves ſhod with iron, which ſome had, and others with knives, marched to the houſe of a knight who lived near, and breaking it open, murdered the knight, his lady and all the children, both great and ſmall; they then burnt the houſe.

After this, their ſecond expedition was to the ſtrong caſtle of another knight, which they took, and, having tied him to a ſtake, many of them violated his wife and daughter before his eyes: they then murdered the lady, her daughter and the other children, and laſt of all the knight himſelf, with much cruelty. They deſtroyed and burnt his caſtle.

They did the like to many caſtles and handſome houſes; and, their numbers increaſed ſo much, that they were in a ſhort time upwards of ſix thouſand: wherever they went, they received additions, for all of their rank in life followed them, whilſt every one elſe fled, carrying off with them their ladies, damſels, and children ten or twenty leagues diſtant, where they thought they could place them in ſecurity, leaving their houſes, with all their riches in them.

Theſe wicked people, without leader and without arms, plundered and burnt all the houſes they came

came to, murdered every gentleman, and violated every lady and damſel they could find. He who committed the moſt atrocious actions, and ſuch as no human creature would have imagined, was the moſt applauded, and conſidered as the greateſt man among them. I dare not write the horrible and inconceivable atrocities they committed on the perſons of the ladies.

Among other infamous acts, they murdered a knight; and, having faſtened him to a ſpit, roaſted him before the eyes of his wife and his children, and, after ten or twelve had violated her, they forced her to eat ſome of her huſband's fleſh, and then knocked her brains out.

They had choſen a king among them, who came from Clermont in Beauvoiſis: he was elected as the worſt of the bad, and they denominated him James Goodman*.

Theſe wretches burnt and deſtroyed in the country of Beauvoiſis, and at Corbie, Amiens, and Montdidier, upwards of ſixty good houſes and ſtrong caſtles. By the acts of ſuch traitors in the country of Brie and thereabout, it behoved every lady, knight and ſquire, having the means of eſcape, to fly to Meaux, if they wiſhed to preſerve themſelves from being inſulted, and afterwards murdered. The ducheſs of Normandy, the ducheſs of Orleans, and many other ladies had adopted this courſe to ſave themſelves from violation.

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* Jacques Bon Homme.

Theſe curſed people thus ſupported themſelves in the countries between Paris, Noyon, and Soiſſons, and in all the territory of Coucy in the county of Valois. In the biſhoprics of Noyons, Laon, and Soiſſons, there were upwards of one hundred caſtles and good houſes of knights and ſquires deſtroyed.

CHAP. CLXXXI.

THE KING OF NAVARRE DEFEATS MANY OF THESE VILLAINS IN BEAUVOISIS. THE PROVOST OF MERCHANTS BUILDS A WALL ROUND PARIS.

WHEN the gentlemen of Beauvoiſis, Corbie, Vermandois, and of the lands where theſe wretches were aſſociated, ſaw to what lengths their madneſs had extended, they ſent for ſuccour to their friends in Flanders, Hainault, and Bohemia: from which places numbers ſoon came, and united themſelves with the gentlemen of the country.

They began therefore to kill and deſtroy theſe wretches wherever they met them, and hung them up by troops on the neareſt trees. The king of Navarre even deſtroyed in one day, near Clermont in Beauvoiſis, upwards of three thouſand: but they were by this time ſo much increaſed in number, that had they been altogether, they would have amounted to more than one hundred thouſand. When they were aſked for what reaſon they acted ſo wickedly; they replied, they knew not, but they did

did ſo becauſe they ſaw others do it; and they thought that by this means they ſhould deſtroy all the nobles and gentlemen in the world.

At this period, the duke of Normandy, ſuſpecting the king of Navarre, the provoſt of merchants and thoſe of his faction, for they were always unanimous in their ſentiments, ſet out from Paris, and went to the bridge at Charenton upon Marne, where he iſſued a ſpecial ſummons for the attendance of the crown vaſſals, and ſent a defiance to the provoſt of merchants, and to all thoſe who ſhould ſupport him.

The provoſt, being fearful he would return in the night-time to Paris (which was then unincloſed), collected as many workmen as poſſible from all parts, and employed them to make ditches quite round Paris. He alſo ſurrounded it by a wall with ſtrong gates. For the ſpace of one year, there were three hundred workmen daily employed; the expence of which was equal to maintaining an army. I muſt ſay, that to ſurround, with a ſufficient defence, ſuch a city as Paris, was an act of greater utility than any provoſt of merchants had ever done before; for otherwiſe it would have been plundered and deſtroyed ſeveral times by the different factions.

CHAP. CLXXXII.

THE BATTLE OF MEAUX IN BRIE, WHERE THE VILLAINS ARE DISCOMFITED BY THE EARL OF FOIX AND THE CAPTAL OF BUCH.

AT the time theſe wicked men were overrunning the country, the earl of Foix and his couſin the captal of Buch were returning from a croiſade in Pruſſia*. They were informed on their entering France, of the diſtreſs the nobles were in; and they learnt at the city of Chalons, that the ducheſs of Normandy, the ducheſs of Orleans, and three hundred other ladies, under the protection of the duke of Orleans, were fled to Meaux on account of theſe diſturbances.

The two knights reſolved to go to the aſſiſtance of theſe ladies, and to reinforce them with all their might, notwithſtanding the captal was attached to the Engliſh; but at that time there was a truce between the two kings. They might have in their company about ſixty lances.

They were moſt cheerfully received, on their arrival at Meaux, by the ladies and damſels; for theſe Jacks and peaſants of Brie had heard what number of ladies, married and unmarried, and young children of quality, were in Meaux: they

* Barnes ſays that the lord Fauconberg was with them, and quotes Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 4.; but I do not ſee that he mentions any thing relative to this matter, except that *he made a voyage to the Holy Land.*

had

had united themſelves with thoſe of Valois, and were on their road thither.

On the other hand, thoſe of Paris had alſo been informed of the treaſures Meaux contained, and had ſet out from that place in crowds: having met the others, they amounted together to nine thouſand men: their forces were augmenting every ſtep they advanced.

They came to the gates of the town, which the inhabitants opened to them, and allowed them to enter: they did ſo in ſuch numbers that all the ſtreets were quite filled, as far as the market-place, which is tolerably ſtrong, but it required to be guarded, though the river Marne nearly ſurrounds it. The noble dames who were lodged there, ſeeing ſuch multitudes ruſhing towards them, were exceedingly frightened. On this, the two lords and their company advanced to the gate of the market-place, which they had opened, and marching under the banners of the earl of Foix and duke of Orleans, and the pennon of the captal of Buch, poſted themſelves in front of this peaſantry, who were badly armed.

When theſe banditti perceived ſuch a troop of gentlemen, ſo well equipped, ſally forth to guard the market-place, the foremoſt of them began to fall back. The gentlemen then followed them, uſing their lances and ſwords. When they felt the weight of their blows, they, through fear, turned about ſo faſt, they fell one over the other. All manner of armed perſons then ruſhed out of the barriers, drove them before them, ſtriking them down

down like beaſts, and clearing the town of them; for they kept neither regularity nor order, ſlaying ſo many that they were tired. They flung them in great heaps into the river. In ſhort, they killed upwards of ſeven thouſand. Not one would have eſcaped, if they had choſen to purſue them further.

On the return of the men at arms, they ſet fire to the town of Meaux, burnt it; and all the peaſants they could find were ſhut up in it, becauſe they had been of the party of the Jacks. Since this diſcomfiture which happened to them at Meaux, they never collected again in any great bodies; for the young Enguerrand de Coucy* had plenty of gentlemen under his orders, who deſtroyed them, wherever they could be met with, without mercy†.

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* *Enguerrand de Coucy*—was one of the hoſtages given by France to England, at the treaty for the liberty of king John.

Edward, to attach him to his intereſt, married him to Iſabella his ſecond daughter, and gave him very large poſſeſſions in England. He erected the barony of Bedford into an earldom in his favour.

For further particulars relating to Enguerrand de Coucy, ſee M. de Zurlauben's memoir, in the xxvth vol. of the Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, p. 168.

† Barnes ſays, that 'their captain, James the Goodman, being here taken alive, was ſent to the dauphin, who, underſtanding that he had aſſumed the name of a king, cauſed him to be crowned with a trevet, or the three legged frame of an iron ſkellet, red hot, and ſo to be hanged, in requital for all his barbarous cruelties.'

CHAP. CLXXXIII.

PARIS BESIEGED BY THE DUKE OF NORMANDY, REGENT OF FRANCE.

NOT long after this event, the duke of Normandy aſſembled many noblemen and gentlemen, as well thoſe of his own kingdom as from the empire by means of ſubſidies. They might amount, in the whole, to more than three thouſand lances. With this force he marched to lay ſiege to Paris, towards the ſuburbs of St. Antoine, along the river Seine. He took up his quarters at St. Maur*, and encamped his army in that neighbourhood; whence he made excurſions with it every day towards Paris. Sometime the duke reſided at Charenton, at others at St. Maur.

Nothing could enter Paris, by land or water, on that ſide; for the duke had poſſeſſion of the two rivers, Marne and Seine: his people had burnt all the villages round Paris, which were not incloſed, in order to chaſtiſe more ſeverely the Pariſians. Paris itſelf would have been deſtroyed if it had not been fortified, as before related; and no one dared to enter or go out of it, for fear of the duke's army, who ſcoured both ſides of the Seine as they pleaſed, for none ventured to oppoſe them.

The provoſt of merchants ſtill continued his attachment to the king of Navarre as ſtrong as ever; as did the council and commonalty of Paris; and,

* Probably St. Maur des Foſſez, in the iſle of France.

as

as before ſaid, he employed people night and day the more ſtrongly to fortify the city. He had alſo a large body of men at arms, Navarre ſoldiers and Engliſh archers, and other companions with him. There were among the inhabitants ſome very determined and able men, ſuch as John Maillart, his brother Symon, and many of their relations, by whom he was very much diſliked on account of his hatred to the duke of Normandy; but the provoſt had attached to himſelf ſuch a ſtrong party, that no one dared to contradict him, unleſs he wiſhed to be murdered without mercy.

The king of Navarre, who was acquainted with all this variance between the duke of Normandy and the Pariſians, juſtly imagined, that things could not long continue in their preſent ſtate; nor had he any very great confidence in the commonalty of Paris: he therefore quitted Paris as handſomely as he could, and went to St. Denis, where there was a large body of men at arms in the pay of the Pariſians.

In this poſition, the king remained for ſix weeks, and the duke at Charenton. The two armies pillaged and ruined the country on all ſides.

The archbiſhop of Sens, the biſhop of Auxerre, the biſhop of Beauvais, the lord of Montmorency, the lord of Fiennes and the lord de St. Venant undertook to mediate between them. They managed ſo wiſely with both parties, that the king of Navarre, of his own free will and accord, went to the duke, his brother-in-law, at Charenton, and made excuſes for having given him cauſe of ſuſpicion.

Firſt,

Firſt, for the death of the two marſhals and maſter Simon de Buci; alſo for the inſult which the provoſt of the merchants had offered to him in his own palace at Paris, which he ſwore had been done without his knowledge. He promiſed the duke to remain with him at all events, during this expedition. Upon this peace was made between them. The king of Navarre added, that he would have the Pariſians corrected for the evil deeds they had committed.

The commonalty were to be included in this peace; but the duke was to have the provoſt of the merchants delivered up to him, and twelve of the citizens, according to his choice, to puniſh in what manner he ſhould think beſt.

Theſe things being ſettled, the king of Navarre returned to St. Denis, and the duke went to Meaux in Brie, where he diſmiſſed his army.

Some of the citizens of Paris, to whom the treaty had given more freedom to ſpeak their minds, intreated the duke to return to Paris, in all ſecurity, and that they would pay him every honour in their power.

The duke anſwered, 'that he ſhould conſider the peace as good, having ſworn to it; that it ſhould never, with God's permiſſion, be infringed by him; but that he would never again enter Paris, unleſs he had ſatisfaction from thoſe who had inſulted him.'

The provoſt of the merchants, and thoſe of his faction, frequently viſited the king of Navarre at St. Denis: they remonſtrated with him on the indigna-

tion

tion of the duke, which they had incurred on his account (for they had delivered him out of priſon and brought him to Paris), and that in the name of God, they would not place any confidence in the duke, nor in his council.

The king replied; 'Be aſſured, gentlemen and friends, that you ſhall not ſuffer any ills without my partaking of them; and, as you have at preſent the government of Paris, I would adviſe you to provide yourſelves with gold and ſilver, ſo that, if there ſhould be any neceſſity, you may know where to find it, and ſend it confidentially here to me at St. Denis, truſting to my faith: I will take good care of it, and will keep ſecretly a body of men at arms, and other companions, with whom, in caſe of need, you may make war upon your enemies.'

The provoſt of the merchants followed this advice; and, thrice every week afterwards, he conducted two horſes laden with florins to the king of Navarre at St. Denis, who moſt cheerfully received them.

CHAP. CLXXXIV.

SOME PARISIANS ARE SLAIN AT ST. CLOUD, BY THE ENGLISH WHO HAD BEEN SOLDIERS IN PARIS.

THERE had remained in Paris a great number of the Engliſh and Navarre ſoldiers, whom the provoſt and commonalty of Paris had in their pay, to aſſiſt

aſſiſt them againſt the duke of Normandy, and very loyally and well had they ſerved them during the time the war laſted.

When the treaty was concluded between the duke and the Pariſians, ſome of theſe ſoldiers left Paris, others remained. Thoſe that quitted it went to the king of Navarre, who retained them all, but there were left behind in Paris about three hundred, who enjoyed themſelves, and ſpent their money cheerfully. There happened, however, a quarrel between them and the inhabitants, when upwards of ſixty Engliſh were ſlain. The provoſt was exceedingly angry at this, and blamed the Pariſians highly; but, to appeaſe the commonalty, he ſeized one hundred and fifty of the Engliſh, whom he confined over three gates, and told the Pariſians, who were ſo much incenſed that they wanted to murder them, that he would have them puniſhed, according to their deſerts, which ſatisfied them.

When night came, the provoſt ſet them at liberty to go where they pleaſed: they went to St. Denis to the king of Navarre, who accepted their ſervices.

In the morning, when the Pariſians found that the Engliſh were let out of priſon, they were much enraged againſt the provoſt; but he, who was a prudent and wiſe man, knew well how to diſſemble what part he had in it, and to turn it off, ſo that it was ſoon forgotten.

When theſe ſoldiers, Engliſh and Navarrois, were all collected together at St. Denis, they were upwards of three hundred. They reſolved to be revenged

venged for the murder of their companions and the inſults they themſelves had ſuſtained. They firſt ſent a challenge to the Pariſians, and then made war upon them, cutting off and flaying all thoſe who iſſued out of the town, ſo that no one dared to venture beyond the gates.

The provoſt of the merchants was, upon this, required to arm a part of the commonalty, and take the field, for they were deſirous of fighting theſe Engliſh. He complied with their requeſt, and ſaid he would accompany them. He armed, therefore, a body of the Pariſians, and marched out, to the number of twelve hundred, who, when they were in the plains, were informed that the Engliſh they were in ſearch of were in the neighbourhood of St. Cloud. Upon this intelligence, they divided themſelves in two bodies, and took ſeparate roads. Theſe two parties were on their march all that day round Montmartre, but did not meet their enemies.

It chanced that the provoſt had the ſmalleſt diviſion, and, after ſearching all about, entered Paris by St. Martin's gate, without having done any thing. The other diviſion, who were ignorant of the return of the provoſt, kept the field until veſpers, when they began their retreat, but without any regular order, like thoſe who did not look for or expect any hindrance. They came back in crowds quite fatigued; ſome carried their helmets in their hands, others flung them round their necks; ſome dragged their ſwords after them on the ground, while others hung theirs on their ſhoulders. They had taken their road ſo as to enter Paris by the gate

of

of St. Honoré*, when ſuddenly they came upon the Engliſh, to the amount of four hundred, in a hollow road, who, upon ſeeing them, began to ſhout, 'Here are the Frenchmen!' and fell upon them, which made them fly in every direction. At the firſt onſet, there were upwards of two hundred overthrown. The French, who had not kept any order in their march, were ſo much aſtoniſhed that they never thought of rallying, but made the beſt of their way to eſcape, and were killed in their flight like ſo many ſheep. There were upwards of ſix hundred ſlain in this purſuit: they were followed even beyond the barriers of Paris.

The commonalty of Paris threw all the blame of this accident on the provoſt of the merchants, and ſaid that he had betrayed them. On the next morning, the near relations and friends of thoſe that had been ſlain iſſued out of Paris with cars and carts, to ſeek for the bodies of the dead to bury them: but the Engliſh had placed an ambuſcade near the field of battle, when they killed and wounded more than ſix ſcore of them.

The Pariſians were thrown into great trouble and diſmay, for they did not know whom to truſt. They were night and day under much alarm, for the king of Navarre was grown cold in his proffered aſſiſtance to ſupport them, on account of the peace which he had ſworn to the duke of Normandy, and alſo for the outrage which the Pariſians had com-

* At that period, the gate of St. Honoré was near the Quinze Vingts.—*Memoires de l'Academie*, tom. xvii. p. 696.

mitted on the Engliſh ſoldiers: he connived, therefore, at the chaſtiſement they had received.

On the other hand, the duke of Normandy was much enraged, that the provoſt of the merchants ſhould ſtill keep the government of Paris. The provoſt and his faction were not quite at their eaſe; for the Pariſians, as they were well informed, deſpiſed them exceedingly.

CHAP. CLXXXV.

THE DEATH OF THE PROVOST OF THE MERCHANTS OF PARIS.

THE provoſt and thoſe of his party held many ſecret councils among themſelves, to conſider in what manner they could beſt keep their authority. They knew they ſhould not find mercy from the duke of Normandy, whoſe general anſwer to the Pariſians was, that he would never make peace with them, until twelve perſons from Paris ſhould be given up to him, according to his choice, for him to deal with as he pleaſed.

This declaration had very much alarmed the provoſt and his friends; they thought it preferable to remain alive in good proſperity than to be deſtroyed, and that it was much better to ſlay than to be ſlain. They entered, therefore, into a ſecret treaty with the Engliſh, to continue on the war againſt Paris. It was agreed upon between them, that the provoſt and his friends ſhould be poſted over

over the gates of St. Honoré, and St. Anthony, ſo that the Engliſh and Navarrois might together enter Paris at midnight, properly prepared to ruin and deſtroy the town, except ſuch parts where ſignals ſhould be placed at the doors or windows: wherever this ſignal was not found, they were to put men and women to the ſword.

The night on which this enterpriſe was to take place, God ſhewed his mercy to ſome of the citizens who had always been attached to the duke, that is to ſay, John Maillart, his brother Symon, and many others, who by divine inſpiration (as one may well ſuppoſe it) gained information that Paris was to be ſacked and deſtroyed.

They therefore armed themſelves ſecretly, made all their party do the ſame, and whiſpered their ſuſpicions abroad, in order to acquire more help. They all came properly armed, a little before midnight, to the gate of St. Anthony, where they found the provoſt of the merchants with the keys of the gate in his hand.

Upon this, John Maillart ſaid to him, calling him by his name; 'Stephen, what do you do here at this time of night?' The provoſt replied; 'John, why do you aſk it? I am here to care of, and to guard the city, of which I have the government.' 'By God,' anſwered John, 'things ſhall not go on ſo: you are not here at this hour for any good, which I will now ſhew you,' addreſſing himſelf to thoſe near him; 'for ſee how he has got the keys of the gate in his hand, to betray the city.' The provoſt ſaid, 'John, you lie.' John replied, 'It is

you, Stephen, who lie;' and ruſhing on him, cried to his people, 'Kill them, kill them: now ſtrike home, for they are all traitors.'

There was a very great buſtle; and the provoſt would gladly have eſcaped, but John ſtruck him ſuch a blow with his axe on the head, that he felled him to the ground, although he was his comrade, and never left him until he had killed him. Six others, who were preſent, were alſo killed: the remainder were carried to priſon. They then put themſelves in motion, and awakened every one in the different ſtreets of Paris.

John Maillart and his party went to the gate of St. Honoré, where they found thoſe of the provoſt's faction, whom they accuſed of treaſon, and whoſe excuſes were of no avail. Many of them were taken, and ſent to different priſons: thoſe who would not ſuffer themſelves to be made priſoners, were ſlain without mercy.

This ſame night, all thoſe who were inculpated in the treaſon, for which the provoſt had been ſlain, were taken in their beds, for thoſe who had been ſent to priſon had confeſſed the fact.

On the morrow morning, John Maillart aſſembled the greater part of the commonalty of Paris in the market-place; where, having mounted a ſcaffold, he explained, in general terms, his reaſons for having killed the provoſt of the merchants. All thoſe who had been of the faction of the provoſt were then condemned to die by the elders of the commonalty, and were accordingly executed with various tortures.

Theſe

Theſe things done, John Maillart, who was much in the Pariſians' favor, and ſome of the elders attached to him, ſent Symon Maillart and two maſters in Parliament, ſir John Alphonſo and maſter John Paſtorel, to the duke of Normandy who reſided at Charenton.

They related to the duke the event that had happened in Paris, and beſought him to return thither to direct and counſel the city henceforwards, as all his adverſaries were ſlain. The duke replied, that he would willingly comply with their requeſt. He accordingly came to Paris, attended by ſir Arnold d'Andreghen, the lord of Roye, with many other knights, and took up his lodging in the Louvre*.

CHAP.

* All this chapter I have tranſlated from my copy printed on vellum, which is conformable to Denys Sauvage's edition, and to lord Berner's tranſlation: but, on comparing it with two of my manuſcripts, there is a very great difference: they are perfectly ſimilar in the text to the three manuſcripts mentioned by M. Dacier in his memoir, 'To whom ought to be attributed the glory of the revolution which ſaved Paris during the captivity of king John?' *Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions*, &c. vol. xliii. p. 563.

M. Dacier proves very clearly, that John Maillart, ſo far from being the hero who ſaved his country, was a rebel, and connected with the provoſt: that the regent, *on that account*, confiſcated the property which John Maillart had in the county of Dampmartin, and gave to John de Chaſtillon, earl of Porcien, and his heirs for ever, on account of the ſervices he had rendered, and was ſtill rendering to the king, a rent charge of five hundred livres of this confiſcated property in Dampmartin and elſewhere.—Extracted from the Treſor des Chartres—Regiſtre 86, piece 142.

M. Dacier continues: 'If this piece ſhould leave any doubts

CHAP. CLXXXVI.

THE KING OF NAVARRE DECLARES WAR AGAINST FRANCE, THE FRENCH KING BEING AT THE TIME A PRISONER IN ENGLAND.

WHEN the king of Navarre was informed of the death of his great friend the provoſt of the merchants, and of thoſe who were attached to him, he

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upon the want of exactneſs in the narration of Froiſſart, I hope to be able to ſhew, that the commonly-received narration is not the true text. I believe I have found this text in three manuſcripts in the king's library, two of which are perhaps the moſt ancient and authentic that exiſt in any library. One, numbered 8318, has a a date, which marks its age; upon one of the leaves of vellum, at the beginning, is written:

'This is a part of the chronicles done by maſter John Froiſſart, a Hainaulter, from the time of king Charles IV. of the wars between France and England: which chronicles maſter William Boiſratier, maſter of requeſts of the king's palace, one of his counſellors, and counſellor alſo to the duke of Berry his lord, gave to the aforeſaid duke his lord, in his hôtel de Neelle, the 8th day of November, in the year 1407.'—Signed FLAMEL.

'The manuſcript cannot be later than this date: and one may ſee by the ſignature of W. Boiſratier, which is on a leaf of parchment paſted on the inſide of the cover, that he had been owner of it ſome time before he preſented it to the duke of Berry; ſo that it may, without difficulty, be eſtimated as having been written the latter end of the 14th century.

'The ſecond manuſcript is ſo perfectly conformable to the firſt in the quality of the vellum, the colour of the ink, and the form of the letters, that it clearly belongs to the ſame period.'

M. Dacier

he was ſorely vexed; for the provoſt had always been very favourable to his deſigns. And becauſe he had the reputation of being the chief cauſe of the

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M. Dacier does not believe theſe manuſcripts copied from the ſame original, nor from each other. He then goes on to the

'Third manuſcript, numbered 6760, which is leſs ancient. It appears to have been written towards the middle of the 15th century. In comparing it with the two preceding, I have found ſome differences that prove it is not a copy from them. This forms a third teſtimony in favour of the new text of Froiſſart. As this text has never been publiſhed, I ſhall tranſcribe the whole chapter, except the firſt twenty lines, in which the hiſtorian lays down the plan of the conſpiracy of Marcel ſimilar to what is in the printed editions.'

'That very night which was to diſcloſe all this miſchief (that is to ſay, the deſtruction of Paris), God inſpired and alarmed ſome of the citizens of Paris who were and ever had been attached to the duke of Normandy; of whom ſir Pepin des Eſſarts and ſir John de Charny were the leaders; and theſe were, as we may ſuppoſe, informed by divine inſpiration that Paris was to be overrun and deſtroyed. They ſoon armed themſelves, made all thoſe of their party do the ſame, and ſecretly ſpread abroad their intelligence in different quarters, that they might have more aſſiſtance.

'This ſir Pepin then ſet out, with many other determined companions, well armed. Sir Pepin diſplayed the banner of France, crying out *Au Roi*, and *Au Duc*, followed by crowds of people, until they came to the gate of St. Anthony, where they found the provoſt of the merchants, holding the keys in his hands.

'John Maillart was likewiſe there, who, having had that day a diſpute with the provoſt and with Joſſeran de Maſcon, had joined the party of the duke of Normandy.

'The provoſt was ſeverely taunted by words and arguments; and there was ſuch a noiſe made by the crowd, that ſcarcely any

the provoſt's treaſons, the lord Philip de Navarre, who at that time was at St. Denis with him, adviſed him, as he could not ſee any means of getting clear of

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thing could be heard; they kept crying out, 'Kill them, kill them! kill the provoſt of the merchants and his allies, for they are all traitors.' There was a great tumult; and the provoſt, who was ſtanding on the ſteps of the fort of St. Anthony, would willingly have eſcaped, but he was ſo beſet that he could not. Sir John de Charny ſtruck him to the ground by a blow of his battle axe on the head. He was then attacked by maſter Peter Fouace and others, who never quitted him until he was dead, as well as ſix of his party; among whom were Philip Guiffart, John de Lille, John Poiret, Simon le Paonnier and Giles Marcel. Many more were taken, and ſent to priſon. They then made ſearch in all the ſtreets of Paris, put the town in a ſtate of ſecurity, and kept a ſtrong guard all that night.

'You muſt know, that as ſoon as the provoſt of the merchants and the others had been ſlain or made priſoners, which happened on Tueſday, the laſt day of July 1358, in the afternoon, meſſengers were ſent in haſte to carry this news to the duke of Normandy, at that time at Meaux, which gave him, and not without reaſon, great pleaſure.

'He made preparations for his journey to Paris; but, before his arrival, Joſſeran de Maſcon, who was treaſurer to the king of Navarre, and Charles Touſſac, ſheriff of Paris, who had been made priſoners, were executed in the ſquare of the Greve, by having their heads cut off, becauſe they had been traitors, and were of the provoſt's party.

'The body of the provoſt and of thoſe that had been ſlain with him, were dragged into the court of the church of St. Catherine du Val des Ecoliers, and, naked as they were, extended before the croſs in that court, and left there a conſiderable time for the view of all thoſe that choſe it: they were afterward thrown into the river Seine.

'The

of this ſuſpicion, to declare war againſt the kingdom of France.

He ſent his challenge to the duke of Normandy, to the Pariſians, and to the whole realm of France.

' The duke of Normandy, who had ſent a ſufficiency of men at arms to Paris, to defend and reinforce it againſt the Engliſh and Navarrois, who were in the neighbourhood continually haraſſing it, ſet out from Meaux, where he then reſided, and came with ſpeed to Paris, attended by a noble and numerous eſcort of men at arms. He was received by the good town of Paris, and by all perſons with great joy, when he diſmounted at the Louvre. John Maillart was at that time near his perſon, and much in his grace and favor; and, to ſay the truth, he was then very deſerving of it, as you have heard related above, notwithſtanding he had been formerly, as it was ſaid, one of the allies of the provoſt of the merchants.

' Shortly afterward, the duke ſent for the ducheſs of Normandy his wife, and all the ladies who had for ſome time taken refuge at Meaux in Brie. When they came to Paris, the ducheſs alighted at the hôtel of the duke, which had been the hôtel de St. Pol, whither he had retired, and where he had remained for a conſiderable time.'

M. Dacier then adds:

' This is the new reading I announced, and which appears to me far preferable to the common one, becauſe it unites the double advantage of coming from the moſt authentic manuſcripts we know, and of agreeing much better than the printed copies, as well with the contemporary hiſtorians, as with the other monuments of the times, to which it may ſerve both as a commentary and ſupplement.'

I ſhall refer the reader, for further proofs that John Maillart was not the hero who ſaved Paris, to the memoir of M. Dacier, in the xliiid vol. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions, &c.

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He quitted St. Denis, and his people overran the whole country, plundering it as far as Melun ſur Seine*, where the queen Blanche his ſiſter, the widow of king Philip, reſided. That lady received him cheerfully, and gave up to him every thing ſhe poſſeſſed.

The king of Navarre made this town and caſtle his principal garriſon. He collected men at arms from all parts, and ſoldiers from Brabant, Germany, Hainault, Bohemia. People every where came willingly to ſerve under him; for he paid them largely out of the treaſures he had amaſſed, through the means of the provoſt of merchants, from the city of Paris, as well as from the neighbouring towns.

The lord Philip de Navarre withdrew his forces to Mantes† and Meulan‡, upon the river Seine, where he poſted garriſons. Every day their forces were increaſed by thoſe who were deſirous of getting money.

In this manner did the king of Navarre begin his war upon the kingdom of France; which was eſpecially directed againſt the city of Paris, for he was maſter of the three rivers, the Seine, Marne, and Oiſe.

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* Melun,—an ancient town in the iſle of France, ten leagues and a half from Paris.

† Mantes,—in the iſle of France, capital of the Mantois, fourteen leagues from Paris.

‡ Meulan, or Meullent,—in the iſle of France, four leagues from Mantes, ten from Paris.

The Navarrois multiplied ſo faſt, that they took the ſtrong town of Creil*: they were beſides the maſters of the river Oiſe, and the ſtrong caſtle of Herielle†, three leagues diſtant from Amiens, and afterwards of Mauconſeil‡.

The capture of theſe three fortreſſes was the cauſe of innumerable ills to the realm of France. There were at leaſt fifteen hundred combatants who were overrunning the country, without any attempt made to oppoſe them. They ſoon ſpread farther, and took, ſhortly afterward, the caſtle of St. Valery§, of which they made a very ſtrong garriſon. Sir William de Bonnemarè and John de Segures‖ were governors of it. They had under them full five hundred fighting men, with whom they ſcoured the country as far as Dieppe and Abbeville, along the ſea-coaſt, to the gates of Crotoy, Roye, and Montreuil-ſur-mer.

Theſe Navarrois, whenever they had determined to take a caſtle, whatever its ſtrength might be, never failed of ſucceeding. They frequently made excurſions of thirty leagues in a night, and fell

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* Creil,—a town in the iſle of France, on the Oiſe, twenty leagues and a half from Amiens, ten leagues and a half from Paris.

† La Herielle,—a village of Picardy, in the election of Montdidier, near Breteuil.

‡ Q. if not Maucourt, which is a village of Picardy, near Noyon.

§ A town in Picardy, at the mouth of the Somme, four leagues and a half from Abbeville.

‖ Sir John Segar, an Engliſhman.—BARNES.

upon

upon a country that never ſuſpected they could come to them. Thus did they ruin and deſtroy the fortreſſes and caſtles in the kingdom of France.

They took pleaſure to ſummon knights, ladies, and damſels, before they were out of bed, for their ranſoms. Sometimes they ſeized all they had, and then turned them out of doors.

The lord Fondrigais of Navarre was chief governor of Creil upon Oiſe. He gave paſſports to thoſe who wiſhed to go from Paris to Noyon, or from Noyon to Compiegne, or from Compiegne to Soiſſons, or Laon, as well as to other parts in the neighbourhood. Theſe paſſports were worth to him, during the time he remained at Creil, one hundred thouſand livres.

Sir John de Piquigny, who, though of Picardy, was ſtrongly attached to the cauſe of Navarre, reſided in the caſtle of Herielle. His troops grievouſly oppreſſed the inhabitants of Montdidier, Arras, Peronne, Amiens, and all that part of Picardy on the river Somme.

In the caſtle of Mauconſeil were three hundred men, under the command of Rabigeois de Dury*, Charles Frangnelin, and Hannequin François; they plundered the country all round Noyon, and all the large towns and monaſteries which were not fortified, if their inhabitants did not ranſom them-

* Barnes ſays, that 'in Mauconſeil were three hundred men at arms, under theſe captains, Rabigois of Derry, an Iriſhman,—Franklin and Hawkins, two ſquires of England, ſir Robert Knolles his companions.'—Page 544.

ſelves

ſelves from theſe captains, by paying them a certain number of florins weekly: on any other conditions they would have been burnt and deſtroyed, for theſe ruffians were very cruel to their enemies.

From ſuch cauſes as theſe, the lands were uncultivated; for no one dared to till them; ſo that very great ſcarcity ſoon added to the diſaſters under which the kingdom already laboured.

CHAP. CLXXXVII.

THE NAVARROIS ARE BESIEGED IN THE CASTLE OF MAUCONSEIL, BY THE MEN OF PICARDY.

WHEN the duke of Normandy, who reſided at Paris, heard that theſe men at arms were deſtroying the country, under the name of the king of Navarre, and that their numbers were daily increaſing, he ſent to all the principal towns in Picardy and Vermandois, to require that each ſhould, according to his proportion, ſend a certain number of men at arms, on foot and on horſeback, to oppoſe the Navarrois, who were ruining the kingdom of which he had the government. The cities and chief towns willingly complied with his requeſt: they taxed themſelves, according to their fortunes, with men at arms, both horſe and foot, archers and croſs-bowmen.

Theſe advanced firſt toward the good city of Noyon, making ſtraight for the garriſon of Mauconſeil, becauſe they thought this the weakeſt of the

the fortreſſes of the Navarrois, and that which had moſt haraſſed the inhabitants of Noyon and the country of Vermandois.

The biſhop of Noyon, the lord Raoul de Coucy, the lord de Ravenal, the lord de Chauny, the lord de Roye, and ſir Matthew de Roye his brother, were the captains and leaders of theſe men at arms and the other troops. Theſe lords had with them many other knights and ſquires from Picardy and Vermandois, who, laying ſiege to Mauconſeil, made many aſſaults on it, and hardly preſſed the garriſon; who, when they could not hold out much longer, ſent to inform ſir John de Piquigny of their diſtreſſed ſituation. He then reſided in the caſtle of la Herielle. All theſe garriſons and places were under his command. He made haſte therefore to ſuccour his good friends in Mauconſeil, and ſent orders privately to the garriſon of Creil, to arm themſelves directly, and to march to a certain ſpot which he pointed out to them; for he meant to make an excurſion through the country with all the men at arms under his command. When they were all aſſembled, they amounted to one thouſand lances at leaſt. They rode on, under the direction of guides, all that night, without halting, and came before the caſtle of Mauconſeil at day-break. There was ſo thick a fog that morning, that they could not ſee the length of an acre of ground. Immediately on their arrival, they fell ſuddenly on the French army, who, not expecting them, nor having a ſufficient guard, were ſleeping as if in perfect ſafety. The Navarrois ſet up their cry, and began

to

to kill and cut down both men, tents and pavillions. The ſkirmiſh was very ſharp, in ſo much that the French had not time to arm themſelves or collect together, but ran off, as faſt as they could, to Noyon, which was hard by, and the Navarrois after them.

Many were ſlain and unhorſed between Noyon and Orcamp*, and between Noyon and Pont l'Evêque†, and in that neighbourhood. The dead and wounded lay in heaps on the ground, on the highways and between the hedges.

The purſuit laſted as far as the gates of Noyon, which put that town in great danger of being ruined; for ſome of both parties who were there, have declared, that if the Navarrois had choſen, they might for a certainty have entered the town, as thoſe who belonged to it were ſo much frightened, when they returned, that they forgot, or had not time to ſhut the gate leading to Compeigne.

The biſhop of Noyon was taken priſoner, near the barriers, and gave his word to ſurrender himſelf, or he would have been killed. On the morrow, the lord Raoul de Coucy was taken, as were the lord Raoul de Ravenal, the lord de Chauny and his two ſons, le borgne‡ de Rouvroy, the lord de Turte, the lord de Vendueil, the lord Anthony de Coudun, and full one hundred knights and ſquires.

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* † Villages near Noyon.

‡ Q. Borgne,—whether one-eyed, or ſome title, as captal or ouldich?

There were upwards of fifteen hundred men ſlain: the greateſt loſs fell upon thoſe who came from the city of Tournay: they ſuffered much, as many had come from that part. Some ſaid, that of the ſeven hundred which they at firſt were, ſcarcely any returned back, but all were either killed or taken priſoners. The garriſon of Mauconſeil made a ſally, to complete this defeat, which happened in the year 1358, on the Tueſday following the feaſt of our Lady, the middle of Auguſt.

The Navarrois conducted the greater part of their priſoners to Creil, becauſe it was a good and ſtrong town. They acquired by this expedition much wealth, as well in jewels as by the ranſoms of their priſoners.

From this time they became rich, and ranſomed the citizens of Tournay and thoſe of the other towns whom they had captured cheerfully, for ſuch ſort of ware as ſwords, axes, ſpear heads, jackets, doublets, houſings, and for all the different ſorts of tools they were in want of.

The knights and ſquires took their payments in ready money, in courſers or other horſes; and one poor gentleman, that had not wherewithal to pay, they made ſerve for a quarter of a year: two or three were treated in this manner. With regard to wines and proviſion, they had plenty: for all the flat countries ſupplied them handſomely by way of ranſom. The towns got nothing, but in an underhand manner, or by means of their paſſports, which they ſold at a high price. By this method they could obtain all they wanted, except hats of beaver,

beaver, oſtrich feathers, and ſpear heads; which things they never would inſert in their paſſports.

The garriſon of Mauconſeil deſtroyed the greater part of the fine abbey of Orchamps, at which the governor was much enraged when informed of it.

Theſe Navarrois ſpread themſelves over many places, along the banks of the Somme and the Oiſe; and two of their men at arms, called Rabigeois de Dury and Robin l'Eſcot* took by eſcalade, the good town of Berly†, in which they placed a garriſon, and ſtrongly fortified it. Theſe two companions had in pay, under their command, about four hundred men, to whom they gave fixed wages, and paid them every month.

The garriſons of Beaulieu, Creil, Mauconſeil, and la Herielle, ſcoured all parts of the country, as no one oppoſed them; the knights having ſufficient employment in guarding their houſes and caſtles. Theſe Engliſh and Navarrois went armed or unarmed, and rode over the country at their pleaſure, to amuſe themſelves, from one garriſon to another, as if all had been at peace.

The young lord de Coucy had his towns and caſtles extremely well guarded: he was alſo lord paramount of that part of the country.

The canon de Robeſart watched the Navarrois better than any other, and haraſſed them much; for frequently he had overthrown many of them.

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* Q. The firſt, ſee note p. 412;—the ſecond, Robin Scott.

† Q. If not Beaulieu, which is a town in Picardy, in the dioceſe and election of Noyon.

CHAP. CLXXXVIII.

SEVERAL OF THE CITIZENS OF AMIENS ATTEMPT TO GIVE UP THAT CITY TO THE NAVARROIS.—A FAMINE IN FRANCE.

THE lord John de Piquigny, who was much attached to the king of Navarre, was the chief of his council, and through whoſe aſſiſtance he had eſcaped from priſon, reſided at la Herielle, three leagues from Amiens. He had tampered ſo ſucceſsfully, by fine ſpeeches and otherwiſe, with ſeveral of the principal citizens of Amiens, that they had conſented to admit the Navarrois into the city. Theſe treacherous citizens had even hid in their chambers and garrets ſome of the Navarrois that were to aſſiſt in deſtroying their town.

Lord John de Piquigny, lord William de Graville, lord Fricquet de Friquant, lord Lin de Belayſy, and the lord Fondrigay, came one night, with upwards of ſeven hundred men, to the gates of the city, which lead to la Herielle, on aſſurance of their friends within the town, that they ſhould be open; and they kept their promiſe Upon this, thoſe who had been hid in cellars and garrets ſallied forth, ſhouting, 'Navarre!' whilſt the inhabitants, being awakened, cried out, 'Treaſon, treaſon!' and, collecting themſelves together, haſtened towards the gate where the greateſt tumult was, between the ſuburbs and the city.

The firſt comers defended the gate well, and with good courage: numbers were ſlain on both

ſides. If the Navarrois had haſtened to enter the city inſtantly on their arrival, they would have won it; but they loitered in the ſuburbs, and performed the enterprize in a cowardly manner enough.

This ſame night, God inſpired the lord Morel de Fiennes, conſtable of France, and the earl de St. Pol, who were at Corbie in great force, with the deſign to go to Amiens. They rode there ſo faſt, and came ſo opportunely, that the Navarrois had but juſt gained the ſuburbs: they were exerting all their efforts to win the city, and muſt have ſucceeded, if theſe gentlemen had not arrived. As ſoon as they had entered the city of Amiens by another gate, they advanced to the place where the battle raged, and having diſplayed their banners, drew up their men in the ſtreet, without paſſing through the gate to the ſuburbs; for they gave them up as loſt, which in truth they were. They, by this timely ſuccour, inſpired freſh courage into the men of Amiens, who lighted the ſtreets with a number of torches, and with pitched ropes in iron lanthorns.

The lord John de Piquigny and the Navarrois, on hearing that theſe lords and their ſquadrons were arrived, and drawn up in the city, thought that, if they remained, they ran a riſk of loſing more than they could gain: lord John, therefore, collected his people together, and ſounded a retreat, which he made as handſomely as he could, but not before he had deſtroyed and burnt the ſuburbs. There were at leaſt three hundred houſes, and a

number of handſome hôtels, with pariſh-churches, burnt; for nothing was ſpared.

Thus did the Navarrois carry off with them great wealth, which they had found in the large ſuburbs of Amiens, and returned with many priſoners to their different garriſons.

The conſtable and the earl of St. Pol, upon the retreat of the Navarrois, ſeparated their troops, and ſent them to all the different gates of the city, with orders, under pain of death, to ſuffer no one to quit the town.

On the morrow morning, theſe two lords and ſome of the citizens of Amiens, who were acquainted with the manner in which the town had of late been governed, and who ſuſpected ſome of the citizens of both ſexes of this treaſon, went to the houſes of thoſe they were in ſearch of, and arreſted ſeventeen, who were ſoon after beheaded in the public market-place.

The abbé de Gars was among the number, who had been an accomplice in this treaſon, and had even lodged ſome of the Navarrois in his houſe.

Shortly after, ſix of the principal inhabitants of Laon were arreſted and executed, for a ſimilar crime; and it would have gone hard with the biſhop of that place if he had been caught, for he was accuſed of being concerned, which afterwards he could not deny; but he quitted the town ſecretly, as he had good friends, who gave him notice of what was likely to happen, and went immediately to the king of Navarre, at Melun ſur Seine, who

moſt

moſt courteouſly received him. Such adventures as theſe happened often in France: on which account, the barons and knights, as well as the cities and principal towns, were always upon their guard. To ſpeak truly, the king of Navarre had many friends intermixed in every part of France; and, if they had not been diſcovered, much worſe things would have been done, though in truth they did enough.

During this time, the duke of Normandy and his brothers reſided at Paris. No merchants nor others dared to venture out of the town, to look after their concerns, or to take any journey; for they were attacked and killed, whatever roads they took. The kingdom was ſo full of the Navarrois, they were maſters of all the flat countries, the rivers, and the principal towns and cities. This cauſed ſuch a ſcarcity of proviſions in France, that a ſmall caſk of herrings was ſold for thirty golden crowns, and every thing elſe in proportion. Many of the poor died with hunger. This famine laſted more than four years. The great towns, in particular, were much diſtreſſed for ſalt, which could only be had through the miniſters of the duke of Normandy, who ſold it at a very dear rate, in order to collect more money to pay the ſoldiers.

CHAP. CLXXXIX.

THE MEN OF PICARDY BESIEGE, THE NAVARROIS IN ST. VALERY.—THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE IS FILLED WITH NAVARROIS.

THE conſtable of France and the young earl of St. Pol acquired great popularity in Picardy, for the ſuccours which they had brought to Amiens. The knights and ſquires of that province united themſelves to them; and they thought they were now in ſufficient force to lay ſiege to St. Valery.

The conſtable ſent to all the principal towns, to inform them of it: upon which, thoſe of Tournay, Liſle, Douay, Arras, Bethune, St. Omer, St. Quentin, Peronne, Amiens, Corbie, and Abbeville, met together: they engaged to find a certain number of men, whom they ſent to the conſtable and the earl of St. Pol.

Even the knights and ſquires of Hainault put themſelves in motion, and came thither, on account of the eſtates they had in France.

The lord d'Andreghen ſent thither the young ſeneſchal of Hainault, the lord John de Verthin, magnificently equipped, the lord Hugh d'Antoing his couſin, with many others; when they marched to lay ſiege to St. Valery.

There were full two thouſand knights and ſquires; and the chief towns had ſent twelve thouſand common ſoldiers at their expence: Abbeville, in particular, was too heavily taxed, for thence they took all their purveyances.

The

The ſiege of St. Valery laſted ſome time. There were many ſharp aſſaults and ſkirmiſhes. Almoſt every day there was ſomething of this ſort going forward; for the young knights and ſquires were eager to make trial of their arms, and they readily found thoſe who would gratify them. The lord William de Bonnemare, ſir John Segar, and ſeveral other knights, who were in the garriſon, advanced from the barriers of the caſtle, to tilt and ſkirmiſh with thoſe of the army; ſo that there were generally ſome killed or wounded on both ſides daily.

There might have been in St. Valery three hundred companions, without counting thoſe of the town, whom they forced to fight and aſſiſt them, otherwiſe it would have ended badly.

The chiefs of the beſiegers ordered engines of war to be brought from Amiens and Abbeville, and to be pointed againſt St. Valery, which caſt large ſtones, and much haraſſed the inhabitants, who had cannon and ſpringals*, with which they annoyed the army.

Whilſt this ſiege was carrying on, and the king of Navarre making war in all parts of France, the captal of Buch, couſin to the king of Navarre, arrived at Cherbourg, according to his intreaties,

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* Eſpringalles, or eſpringolds, or ſpringolds, were machines whence came ſhot, ſtones, or bolts.

SKINNER'S *Dictionary.*

' And eke within the caſtil were
' Springoldis, gonnes, bowes, and archers.'

CHAUCER'S *Roman de la Roſe*, verſes 490, 491.

being retained by him, with two hundred lances in his pay.

The captal, on his arrival in Normandy, took the field, and, paſſing through the lands of the king of Navarre, came to Mantes, where he found the lord Philip de Navarre, with whom he tarried ſome days. He then ſet out ſecretly with all his companions, and made ſuch expedition in one night, through the good country of Vexin and Beauvoiſis*, that he arrived at Clermont† in Beauvoiſis, which is a large town, though not incloſed, with a handſome caſtle, having one large tower walled all round.

Immediately after having ſummoned it, he took it by ſcalado, though the tower had hitherto been deemed impregnable. Nevertheleſs he ſucceeded by means of rope-ladders, and by uſing arrow-heads to attach them to the walls. The firſt perſon who entered was ſir Bernard de la Salle, climbing like a cat. He, in his time, had taken many other places by ſimilar means. The captal de Buch exerted himſelf ſo much that he conquered Clermont, which he and his companions kept poſſeſſion of for a long time. He from that poſt haraſſed the countries of Vexin and Beauvoiſis, with the aſſiſtance of the Navarrois, who were in garriſon in the neighbouring fortreſſes, ſuch as Creil, la Herielle, and Mauconſeil. All the flat countries were at their diſpoſal, as there were none to oppoſe them.

* A ſmall province in the iſle of France. Beauvois is the capital.

† Fifteen leagues from Paris.

In

In ſuch manner was the whole kingdom of France kept in a ſtate of warfare, under the name of the king of Navarre. Many ſtrong caſtles were taken in Brie, Champagne and Valois, in the biſhopricks of Noyon, Soiſſons, Senlis and Laon, of which divers knights and ſquires from foreign parts were made governors.

In that part of the country, near Pont ſur Seine*, towards Provins†, Troyes‡, Auxerre§, and Tonnerre‖, they were ſo overrun with ſoldiers that no one dared to venture out of the ſtrong cities and well-fortified towns. Sir Peter Audley reſided in the caſtle of Beaufort, between Chalons and Troyes, which was part of the duke of Lancaſter's inheritance.

Sir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt, a Hainaulter, reſided ſometimes on Pont ſur Seine, ſometimes at the caſtle of Nogent, with about five hundred combatants, who pillaged all the country round about.

In another part of Champagne, lived a ſquire from Germany called Albret. Theſe three captains kept poſſeſſion of all Champagne and the country on the Marne, with upwards of ſixty

* A town in Champagne, dioceſe of Sens, twenty-eight leagues from Paris.

† An ancient city of Brie, dioceſe of Sens, twenty-two leagues from Paris.

‡ A large city of Champagne, thirty-eight leagues and a half from Paris.

§ An ancient city of Burgundy, capital of the Auxerrois, forty-one leagues and a half from Paris.

‖ A town in Champagne, dioceſe of Langres, forty-eight leagues and a half from Paris.

caſtles and fortified houſes. At any time they pleaſed, they could bring into the field more than two thouſand combatants.

That whole diſtrict was under their ſubjection: they ranſomed or robbed every one. They had pillaged and burnt the good towns of Ay, Epernay*, and Vertus†, and all the chief towns on the Marne, as far as Chateau Thierry‡, with thoſe that were in the neighbourhood of Rheims§. They had alſo taken the good town and caſtle of Ronay‖, and the ſtrong caſtle of Hans¶ in Champagné, aſcending the river as far as St. Antoine in Pertois**.

Further advanced on the borders of Burgundy and Pertois, Thibat de Chaufour and John de Chaufour had taken up their quarters in the name of the king of Navarre. They had got poſſeſſion of a ſtrong caſtle called Mont Sangon††, in the dioceſe of Langres; in which they had a garriſon of four hundred men, who ſcoured the country as far as the biſhoprick of Verdun and the country of Soiſſons.

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* An ancient city of Champagne, dioceſe of Rheims, thirty-three leagues from Paris.

† A town in Champagne, near Epernay.

‡ A city in Brie, dioceſe of Soiſſons, twenty-one leagues and a half from Paris.

§ An ancient city and archbiſhoprick in Champagne, thirty-eight leagues from Paris.

‖ A village in Champagne, dioceſe and election of Troyes.

¶ A village in Champagne, election of St. Menehould.

** Pertois,—a fertile country of Champagne.

†† Q. if not Monſaujon? which is in the dioceſe of Langres.

Between

Between Laon and Rheims were other pillagers, whoſe principal garriſon was at Vely, in which there were ſix hundred men. Rabigeois de Dury, an Engliſhman, was the governor of it. He retained all ſorts of perſons, who wiſhed to ſerve under him; and, as he paid well and punctually, he was duly obeyed.

He had with him Robert Scott, as companion in his gains and loſſes, who, during the Chriſtmas holidays, won and plundered the ſtrong caſtle and town of Roucy*, in which he eſtabliſhed a garriſon that was afterwards a great grievance to the neighbourhood. He ranſomed the earl, his lady and daughter, for the ſum of twelve thouſand golden florins *au mouton*, and kept poſſeſſion of the town and caſtle all that winter and enſuing ſummer of 1359.

As ſoon as the earl of Roucy had paid his ranſom, he went to reſide in Laon, and in divers other places. During this period, there was not any tilling of the ground, ſo that it cauſed a great ſcarcity in a ſhort time.

* A town in Picardy, dioceſe and election of Laon.

CHAP. CXC.

THE CANON DE ROBESART DEFEATS THE NAVARROIS IN THE LAONNOIS, NEAR TO CREIL.

ABOUT this time, as I have been informed, the canon de Robesart performed a very gallant action. It fell out, that as the lord of Pinon, a knight-banneret of Vermandois, was riding from one strong place to another, accompanied by about sixty men at arms, the garrisons of Vely* and Roucy, to the number of three hundred, but without their captains, were also abroad to see what they could capture.

As they advanced towards Creil, they perceived the lord of Pinon marching in good order, in the plain near that town, with his pennon displayed. They immediately saw they were French: the lord de Pinon also knew they were his enemies, and that he had no way to escape from them. However, he and his little troop turning to the right and skirting Creil, for the Navarrois had cut off his retreat the way he had come, stuck spurs into their horses to save themselves, if possible, by flight; but the Navarrois pursued them, crying out, 'St. George, Navarre!' and, being better mounted, would have come up with them in less than half a league.

It chanced that the lord de Pinon, in his flight, met with a large and deep ditch, inclosed on one side by strong hedges, and having only one entrance,

* Vely,—a chatellany in Picardy, diocese of Soissons.

which

which was ſo narrow horſes could not paſs through. As ſoon as he was come near, he noticed the advantage that might be made of it, and ſaid, 'Diſmount, diſmount: it is much better to wait here the chance of war, and defend ourſelves, than to be ſlain or made priſoners in our flight.'

Upon which, all his people diſmounted; as did the Navarrois on their arrival. In the troop of the lord de Pinon, there was a knight, who, calling his page, ſaid, 'Mount my courſer, and ſpare him not, but gallop to the garriſon of Pierrepont*, and intreat the canon de Robefart to come to our aſſiſtance.' The page anſwered, 'Suppoſe I ſhould meet with him, how will it be poſſible for him to arrive in time, for it is five leagues diſtant from hence.'

The knight ſaid, 'Do thy duty.' The page immediately ſet off, and left his maſter fiercely attacked by theſe plunderers of Vely and Roucy.

The lord de Pinon and his company defended themſelves with great valour. He kept poſſeſſion of the advantageous poſition in the ditch, without any loſs, from ten o'clock in the morning until the afternoon.

I will now return to the page, who never broke gallop until he came to Pierrepont in the Laonnois. He delivered his meſſage to the canon de Robefart, who replied that he would do his duty, and haſten to the place where the lord de Pinon was engaged, as he was perfectly acquainted with the ſpot.

* A village in Picardy, dioceſe of Laon.

He

He ordered his trumpet to ſound, and his companions, who might be about ſix ſcore, to mount their horſes. At the ſame time, he ſent off one of his ſervants to Laon, which was not far diſtant, to inform a captain who was ſtationed there what was going forwards. He would not wait for the arrival of this reinforcement, but ſet off directly, full gallop, which he continued until he came to the lord de Pinon and his company, whom he found ſo hard preſſed by the Navarrois, that they could not have held out much longer.

The canon immediately placed his lance in its reſt, and ruſhed upon the Navarrois with ſuch force, that he ſtruck down three the firſt onſet. His people, being freſh and in ſpirits, drove down the Navarrois, who were quite fatigued with having combated the whole day.

The canon de Robefart gave ſuch deadly blows with his battle axe, that none could ſtand before him. Theſe plunderers were totally routed: more than one hundred and fifty were left dead on the field of battle; and if any attempted to ſave themſelves they were met by the detachment from Laon, who made ſuch a ſlaughter, that, of the three hundred they amounted to at firſt, fifteen only eſcaped; the reſt were either ſlain or made priſoners.

CHAP. CXCI.

THE NAVARROIS SURRENDER ST. VALERY TO THE FRENCH, WHO HAD BESIEGED IT A LONG TIME.

I HAVE before related, that the lords of Picardy, Artois, Ponthieu and the Boulonnois, were a conſiderable time before St. Valery; that they had made many grand attacks upon it by machines and other inſtruments.

Among other events, it chanced that the lord de Bacien from Picardy, having got into a boat to reconnoitre more particularly the caſtle, was ſtruck with a bolt from an eſpringal, of which he died. The garriſon had ſuch quantities of artillery, that every attack upon them was attended with great danger. This ſiege, therefore, laſted from the beginning of Auguſt until the following Lent. The lords then declared they would ſtarve them to a ſurrender, ſince they could not take it by aſſault.

They therefore remained a long time inactive, but took great care to guard all the paſſes, ſo that nothing could enter the town by ſea or land.

Their proviſions ſoon began to leſſen, for they could not venture abroad to forage: on the other hand, they ſaw no appearance of any ſuccours coming to them. They therefore determined in council to treat with the conſtable of France, the earl of St. Pol and the other barons of the army, to ſurrender the fortreſs upon condition that their lives

and

and fortunes ſhould be ſpared, and that they might be allowed to go wherever they pleaſed.

This was granted them; but they were to leave the place unarmed. Some difficulties alſo attended the compliance with their propoſals, for the earl of St. Pol inſiſted on their ſurrendering unconditionally.

At this time, the lord Philip de Navarre was advanced towards St. Valery, to raiſe the ſiege, which he would have done, if the garriſon had not been in ſuch haſte to ſurrender. He and his army were very angry at the event; but they could not now by any means prevent it.

CHAP. CXCII.

THE LORD PHILIP DE NAVARRE ASSEMBLES THREE THOUSAND MEN TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF ST. VALERY.

THE lords of France were ſtill drawn up in the plain; and, though no one had left the army, yet they were about departing; their tents, pavilions and baggage were packing up; when news was brought them that the Navarrois were upon their march, and not more than three leagues off.

It was the lord Philip of Navarre who governed all the territories of the king his brother; that is to ſay, the county of Evreux; and all the different parties that were making war on France obeyed his orders. He had been informed by ſir John de Piquigny

quigny, that the garriſon of St. Valery was on the point of ſurrendering. The lord Philip was encouraged to attempt raiſing the ſiege; and for this purpoſe he had aſſembled ſecretly at Mantes and Meulan, three thouſand men, one with the other. The young earl of Harcourt, the lord de Granville, ſir Robert Knolles, ſir John de Piquigny, were there, with many other knights and ſquires, who had followed him to within three leagues of St. Valery when it was ſurrendered. He was aſſured of the truth of it, by the arrival of the lord de Bonnemare and ſir John Segar, who met him on his march.

When the French, who had taken poſſeſſion of St. Valery, heard of the approach of the Navarrois, the conſtable, the earl of St. Pol, the lord de Châtillon, the lord de Poix, the lord de Beauſault, the lord de Helly, the lord de Creſtkes, lord Odoart de Renty, lord Baudoyn d'Ennekin, and ſome other barons and knights who were preſent, retired into the caſtle, to a council; when it was reſolved they ſhould advance to combat their enemies.

The conſtable iſſued his orders for every one to fall into his rank, and prepare for combat. Upon which they all marched forward in good order, as if they were immediately to fight with the lord Philip.

The Navarrois, learning that the French were marching towards them in battle-array, to the amount of thirty thouſand men, did not think it adviſable to wait for them, but croſſed the river Somme as ſpeedily as poſſible, and took poſt in the

caſtle of Long* in Ponthieu, with their horſes, baggage, and whatever elſe they had, which ſtraitened them much for room.

They had ſcarcely entered it, when the French, who were in purſuit of them, came before it, about the hour of veſpers. Their numbers were continually increaſing; for the common ſoldiers from the cities and chief towns could not march ſo faſt as the men at arms.

The lords held a council, and determined to take up their quarters that night before the caſtle, to wait for more troops, which were dropping in one after another, and on the morrow to make a general aſſault upon it.

This was done. But the Navarrois within the caſtle, being ſhort of proviſions, as ſoon as it was midnight, ſallied out at a back way, without any noiſe, and took the road for the Vermandois.

They were more than two leagues off before the French knew of their departure: they immediately armed themſelves, and ſet out after them, following the tracks of their horſes. Thus did both parties puſh forward, the Navarrois firſt, and the French behind them, until the Navarrois came to the little village of Thorigny, which is ſituated on an eminence whence there is a good view of all the country round about. It is in the Vermandois, between St. Quentin and Peronne. There the Navarrois halted, to refreſh themſelves and horſes, and to

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* Long et le Caſtlelet,—a village of Picardy, near Abbeville.

fight

fight their enemies, if they were forced to it. They had formed themſelves in a circle on the ſummit of the eminence, ſo that they might profit from the ſituation of the place.

They had not remained long before they ſaw the whole country below them covered over, and full of Frenchmen, who ſeemed to amount to upwards of thirty thouſand.

When the Navarrois perceived they had the appearance of coming to attack them, they iſſued out of the town, and drew up their army in three battalions: the firſt of them was given to ſir Robert Knolles; the ſecond to ſir Lewis de Navarre, and the third to the earl of Harcourt. Neither of theſe battalions conſiſted of more than ſeven hundred fighting men. They cut their lances to five feet in length, and ordered their ſervants to carry their ſpurs to the ſlope of the hill, where they were to fix them with the rowels uppermoſt, ſo that their enemies might not aſcend the hill at their eaſe.

The lord Philip de Navarre knighted the young earl of Harcourt, who diſplayed his banner, as did alſo the young lord de Granville.

The French halted in ſight of the Navarrois, and diſmounted, for many were deſirous to give them immediate combat, whilſt others were againſt it, ſaying, 'Our people are fatigued; beſides, we have ſuch numbers in the rear, that it is proper we wait for them, and take up our quarters where we are for the remainder of this day. It will be night ſoon, and we can fight them to-morrow in better order.'

In this ſituation, the French encamped themſelves, placing all their baggage-waggons round them, of which they had great numbers.

When the Navarrois found that there was no intention of attacking them, they retired towards evening into their village of Thorigny, making great fires and ſmoke, to let them underſtand they meant to remain there that night: but as ſoon as it was dark, they got their horſes ready, having previouſly made every other preparation, and ſet off in ſilence.

The night was dark and foggy; and they marched down to the river Somme, which they croſſed at a ford, near a ſmall village not far diſtant from Bethencourt*; thence they took the road to the wood of Bohain†, which they ſkirted: they marched that night upwards of ſeven leagues, which cauſed many of the worſe mounted to remain behind, who were made priſoners by the inhabitants of Bohain. The peaſants alſo of the country ſlew many who were unable to keep up with their maſters, and all who had loſt their road.

The French were informed of the departure of the Navarrois a little before day-break; when they reſolved to croſs the Somme by the bridge at St. Quentin‡, and to puſh forward towards Liannes§,

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* A village in Picardy, election of Peronne.

† Bohain,—a ſmall town in Picardy, election of Guiſe, near St. Quentin.

‡ A ſtrong city in Picardy, dioceſe of Noyon, generality of Amiens.

§ Liannes, a village in Picardy, in the generality of Amiens.

and

and by this means to come up with them. Every one, therefore, mounted his horſe as quickly as poſſible, and galloped on for the faſteſt, taking the road for St. Quentin, where they arrived as day appeared, for it was but two ſhort leagues diſtant. The conſtable and the earl of St. Pol were among the firſt. When the guards of the town who were ſtationed over the firſt gate heard the buſtle of their arrival, they began to be alarmed, as they knew the enemy was in the neighbourhood; but recollecting that the draw-bridge was up, they were ſomewhat re-aſſured, as that would prevent them from doing any miſchief. They aſked, who they were that were come there at ſuch an unuſual hour: the conſtable anſwered, 'We are ſuch and ſuch perſons, and wiſh to paſs through this town in purſuit of the Navarrois, who have ſtolen away from Thorigny, and are flying from us: we command you therefore, in the king's name, inſtantly to open the gates.' The guard replied, that the keys were with the magiſtrates in the town.

Two of the guard went to thoſe that had the keeping of the keys, who told them they would not conſent to open the gates till they had conſulted the inhabitants. By this means, ſo much time was loſt that it was after ſun-riſe, before they had conſidered what anſwer to give: they then aſcended over the gateway, and, putting their heads out of the windows, thus addreſſed the conſtable and the earl of St. Pol, who were waiting: 'Dear lords, have the goodneſs to take compaſſion and excuſe us this time; but it is the determination of the commonalty of the

town, that only five or six of you may enter, out of the reſpect we bear you: the others muſt go any other way they chooſe.' The lords were ſo much enraged at this anſwer, that many high words and abuſive language enſued; nevertheleſs, thoſe of St. Quentin would not open their gates.

Theſe lords, therefore, gave up all thoughts of following further the Navarrois, as it would have been in vain. By the advice of the conſtable, the French ſeparated themſelves, and the earl of St. Pol went to his caſtle of Bohain, in ſuch a rage that no one dared to ſpeak to him.

CHAP. CXCIII.

SIR PETER AUDLEY LEADS A PARTY OF NAVARROIS, IN THE NIGHT, TO TAKE CHALONS.

THUS did this grand expedition end: the French ſeparating, went one way, and the Navarrois another: the laſt came that day to Vely, where they croſſed the river Oiſe at a ford; when, finding they were out of all danger, they halted and refreſhed themſelves. As ſoon as they thought proper, they returned into Normandy, and journeyed from fortreſs to fortreſs in perfect ſecurity, as they were maſters of all the rivers and flat country. Having again entered the diſtrict of Coutantin, they carried on their excurſions, as before, through Normandy.

During this time, the king of Navarre remained at Melun upon Seine, with a large body of men at arms.

It

It happened that while ſir Peter Audley was governor of Beaufort, which is ſituated between Troyes and Châlons, he imagined, that if he could croſs the Marne above the town of Châlons, and advance by the ſide of the monaſtery of St. Peter, he might eaſily take the town. To carry this ſcheme into effect, he waited until the river Marne was low, when he ſecretly aſſembled his companions from five or ſix ſtrong caſtles he was maſter of in that neighbourhood. His army conſiſted of about four hundred combatants. They ſet out from Beaufort at midnight. He led them to a ford of the river Marne, which he intended to croſs, for he had people of the country as guides. On coming thither, he made them all to diſmount, and give their horſes to their ſervants, when he marched them through the river, which was very low. All having croſſed, he led them ſlowly towards the monaſtery of St. Peter.

There were many guards and watchmen ſcattered over the town of Châlons, and in the public ſquares: thoſe who were neareſt to the monaſtery of St. Peter, which is ſituated above the town, heard very diſtinctly the noiſe of the Navarrois: for as they were advancing, their arms, by touching each other, made a noiſe and ſounded.

Many who heard this wondered what it could be; for all at once, ſir Peter having halted, the noiſe ceaſed, and, when he continued his march, the ſame ſounds were again heard by the centinels poſted in St. Peter's ſtreet, as the wind came from the oppoſite quarter; and ſome among them ſaid,

'It muſt be thoſe Engliſh and Navarrois thieves that are advancing, to take us by ſcalado: let us immediately ſound the alarm, and awaken our fellow-citizens.' Some of them went to the monaſtery, to ſee what it might be. They could not, however, make ſuch ſpeed but that ſir Peter and his army were in the court-yard; for the walls in that part were not four feet high; and they immediately ruſhed through the gate of the monaſtery into the ſtreet, which was large and wide.

The citizens were exceedingly alarmed, becauſe there were cries from all parts of, 'Treaſon, treaſon! To arms, to arms!' They armed themſelves in haſte, and, collecting in a body to be the ſtronger, advanced to meet their enemies, who overthrew and killed the foremoſt of them.

It happened very unfortunately for Châlons, that Peter de Châlons, who had been governor of the city upwards of a year, with a hundred lances under his command, had lately left it, on account of not being able to get paid according to his wiſhes.

The commonalty of the city were numerous, and ſet themſelves in earneſt to make a good defence. It was high time; but they ſuffered much, and the Navarrois conquered all the lower town, as far as the bridges over the Marne.

Beyond the bridges, the citizens collected themſelves, and defended the firſt bridge, which was of great ſervice to them. The ſkirmiſh was there very ſharp: the Navarrois attacked and fought well. Some of the Engliſh archers advanced, and, paſſing

over

over the ſupports of the bridge, ſhot ſo well, and ſo continually, that none from Châlons dared to come within reach of their arrows.

This engagement laſted until mid-day. It was ſaid by ſome, that Châlons muſt have been taken, if ſir Odes de Grancy had not learnt, as it were by inſpiration, this excurſion of the Navarrois. In order to defeat it, he had intreated the aſſiſtance of many knights and ſquires; for he knew that there was not one gentleman in Châlons. He had come therefore, day and night, attended by ſir Philip de Jancourt, the lord Anceau de Beaupré, the lord John de Guermillon, and many others, to the amount of ſixty lances.

As ſoon as they were come to Châlons, they advanced towards the bridge, which the inhabitants were defending againſt the Navarrois, who were exerting themſelves to the utmoſt to gain it. The lord de Grancy diſplayed his banner, and fell upon the Navarrois with a hearty good will.

The arrival of the lord de Grancy mightily rejoiced the people of Châlons; and well it might, for without him and his company they would have been hard driven.

When ſir Peter Audley and his friends ſaw theſe Burgundians, they retreated in good order the way they had come, and found their ſervants with their horſes on the banks of the Marne. They mounted them, and, croſſing the river without moleſtation, returned towards Beaufort, having by a trifle miſſed their aim.

The

The inhabitants of Châlons were much pleaſed at their departure, and gave thanks to God for it. After expreſſing their obligations to the lord de Grancy for the kindneſs he had done them, they preſented him with five hundred livres for himſelf and his people.

They intreated the lord John de Beſars, who was preſent and a near neighbour, to remain, to adviſe and aſſiſt them. He conſented to their requeſt, for the handſome ſalary they allowed him, and ſet about fortifying the city in thoſe places which were the weakeſt.

CHAP. CXCIV.

THE EARL DE ROUCY TAKEN A SECOND TIME.

ABOUT this period, the two garriſons of Vely and Roucy* united together, and took by aſſault the town of Siſſonne†, which they garriſoned with all ſorts of people: the captain of it was Hanequin François, a lad from Cologne on the Rhine. He was ſo cruel in all his excurſions, that he ſhewed neither pity nor mercy to any one who fell in his way. He burnt all the country, ſlaying men, women and children, whom he could not ranſom according to his will.

The earl of Roucy, who had ſtill at heart the loſs of his town and caſtle, which theſe robbers

* † Towns in Picardy, dioceſe of Laon.

had

had wreſted from him, intreated the aſſiſtance of thoſe knights and ſquires who were his neighbours. He collected upwards of a hundred lances and forty horſemen, whom he conducted from the city of Laon. Among them were the earl de Porcien, lord Robert de Canency, the lord de Montegny in Oſtrevant, and others. They advanced towards Siſſonne, and meeting with that garriſon, who were burning a village, fell upon them merrily. This Hanequin and his followers immediately diſmounted, and placed their archers in the front. The engagement was very ſharp; but thoſe from Laon retreated towards their city without having done much. The other Frenchmen remained, and fought manfully for a long time. However, the fortune of the day was againſt them: the earl de Roucy was ſeverely wounded, and made priſoner: the lord Gerald de Canency, the lord de Montegny and many other men at arms, were likewiſe captured. Thus was the earl of Roucy made priſoner twice in the ſpace of one year.

The lord Euſtace d'Ambreticourt reſided at this time in Champagne, with ſeven hundred fighting men under his command; by whoſe means he acquired great wealth, from the ranſoms of towns, caſtles, vineyards and private houſes, as well as by granting paſſports. He was maſter of at leaſt twelve fortreſſes, and much in love with the lady Iſabella de Juliers*, daughter of the earl of Juliers, whom

* 'Niece to the queen of England, and widow of the earl of Kent.'—*Marginal note*, D. SAUVAGE.

he

he afterwards married. This lady was greatly attached to ſir Euſtace, for his gallant deeds of arms, which had been related to her; and ſhe ſent him courſers, hackneys, and letters full of love, which ſo much emboldened ſir Euſtace, and ſpurred him to perform ſuch feats of chivalry and of arms, that all thoſe under him made fortunes.

CHAP. CXCV.

THREE QUEENS, WITH THE NAVARROIS, ARE BESIEGED IN MELUN.

AFTER the ſurrender of St. Valery, as you have heard related, the duke of Normandy collected upwards of three thouſand lances, ſet out from Paris, and laid ſiege to Melun on the Seine, of which the Navarrois kept poſſeſſion.

At that time, three queens reſided therein: Jane, aunt to the king of Navarre and widow of Charles king of France; Blanche, widow of king Philip of France and ſiſter to the king of Navarre; the third was the queen of Navarre, ſiſter to the duke of Normandy.

The duke of Normandy ſent his forces thither, but did not accompany them in perſon: they were under the command of the lord Morel de Fiennes, conſtable of France, the earl de St. Pol, the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, marſhal of France, the lord Arnold de Coucy, the biſhop of Troyes, the lord Broquart de Feneſtrages, Peter du Bar and Philip

des

des Armoyes, with others, amounting in the whole to three hundred lances.

They beſieged Melun all round, and had brought from Paris a number of ſpringals and other engines, which, day and night, kept continually throwing ſtones into the fortreſs, againſt which alſo many aſſaults were made.

The Navarrois within the town began to be alarmed, more particularly thoſe queens, who would cheerfully have ſeen this ſiege raiſed at any rate; but the governors of the town, lord John Pippes and lord John Carbinaux*, deſired the ladies not to be ſo much frightened, for in a few days this ſiege would be raiſed, as they had learnt from the king of Navarre, who was at that time at Vernon†. The lord Philip de Navarre alſo was aſſembling a body of men at Mantes and Meulan, to come to their aſſiſtance; and at thoſe places all the various garriſons in the Navarre intereſt were collecting together.

On the other hand, the duke of Normandy, who knew the Navarrois intended to attempt raiſing the ſiege, retained ſoldiers wherever he could get them, and ſent them to Melun. But good people interpoſed between the duke and the king; for at that time the cardinals de Perigord and de St. Vitalis were in France, who exerted themſelves ſo effica-

* Lord James Pipe,—ſir Hugh Calverley,—Engliſh natives,—BARNES.

† Vernon ſur Seine,—a town in Normandy, dioceſe of Evreux.

ciouſly, that a day was appointed for treating of a peace between them at Vernon.

The duke of Normandy and his council came thither; as did the king of Navarre, accompanied by the lord Philip his brother; when a peace was made. The king of Navarre ſwore, that from henceforward he would be a loyal Frenchman. There were included in this peace as many as three hundred knights and ſquires, who were pardoned by the duke: ſome others, however, were excepted, whoſe evil deeds he refuſed to forgive.

The lord Philip of Navarre would not accept of the peace. He told the king his brother, he was bewitched for ſo doing, and was acting very ill towards the king of England, who was his ally, and who had always faithfully aſſiſted him.

In deſpite of his brother the king of Navarre, the lord Philip, with three others, ſet off, and rode as faſt as they could to St. Sauveur le Vicomte, where was an Engliſh garriſon. The lord Thomas Dagworth commanded there, in the name of the king of England, who received the lord Philip, and told him he had acquitted himſelf loyally towards the king his lord.

CHAP.

CHAP. CXCVI.

SIR BROQUART DE FENESTRAGES, WITH MANY FRENCH, DRAW UP IN BATTLE-ARRAY, AGAINST SIR EUSTACE D'AMBRETICOURT AND THE ENGLISH IN CHAMPAGNE.

BY the articles of this peace, many towns and caſtles in Normandy, which had been in diſpute, were given up to king Charles of Navarre, particularly Mantes and Meulan.

Peace was alſo made between the young earl of Harcourt and the duke of Normandy. The lord Lewis de Harcourt, uncle to the earl, who was of the council and houſehold of the duke, intereſted himſelf much in its ſucceſs; and the duke gave to the earl in marriage the daughter of the duke of Bourbon, ſiſter to the ducheſs of Normandy.

The ſiege of Melun ſur Seine was raiſed: the town remained to the French. But, in ſpite of this peace, the kingdom of France was torn in pieces by war as before; for the truce between the two kingdoms of France and England had lately expired; ſo that thoſe captains who had carried on the war for the king of Navarre, in the provinces of Burgundy, Normandy, Champagne, Picardy, Brie, and Beauce, ſtill continued it in a powerful and ſhameful manner, in the name of the king of England. They never paſſed any fortreſs without attacking it, notwithſtanding the peace; for theſe ſoldiers had learnt to pillage or ranſom the inhabitants

bitants of the country, and to make excurſions ſometimes in bodies of two thouſand, many of whom had from ten to twelve horſes, who, if they had not kept up this war, would perhaps have gone on foot.

After the ſiege of Melun had been raiſed, the duke of Normandy beſought the lord Broquart de Feneſtrages, who was from Lorraine, and who had in his pay five hundred men, to aſſiſt him in driving the Engliſh out of the province of Champagne, where they had eſtabliſhed themſelves, and were haraſſing the country day and night.

Sir Broquart conſented, on condition of receiving a large ſum of florins for himſelf and for his people.

Upon this, the biſhop of Troyes, the count de Vaudemont, the count de Jouy, the lord John de Châlon, and the lord Broquart de Feneſtrages, aſſembled men at arms in the provinces of Champagne and Burgundy: they amounted to full two hundred lances, and fifteen hundred footmen, who advanced and poſted themſelves before the ſtrong caſtle of Hans* in Champagne, which the Engliſh had taken and kept poſſeſſion of a year and a half.

They carried it by aſſault at the third attack; and there were upwards of fourſcore Engliſh ſlain, for none were ſpared.

The French then retreated to the city of Troyes; and, when they had refreſhed themſelves, they ſal-

* Hans,—a village in Champagne, in the election of St. Menehould.

lied

lied forth with twelve hundred lances*, and nine hundred footmen, taking the road to Nogent ſur Seine†.

Sir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt, who was informed of this expedition, collected thoſe garriſons under his command to the amount of four hundred lances and two hundred archers, with whom he ſet out from Pont ſur Seine‡. He was completely armed, except his helmet, and was mounted on a hackney which had been given to him, but he had a very fine war horſe led by one of his people. He had not rode far before he heard of the French from his ſcouts, who brought intelligence that they had ſeen his enemies. Had ſir Euſtace known that they were in ſuch numbers, he would have aſked aſſiſtance from the lord Peter Audley and lord d'Albret, who could eaſily have ſent to his aid four hundred combatants.

Sir Euſtace having drawn up his men beyond Nogent, placed himſelf on a ſmall hillock, in the midſt of a vineyard, his archers in front.

As ſoon as the French arrived, they formed themſelves into three battalions: the firſt under the command of the biſhop of Troyes and ſir Broquart;

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* Denys Sauvage has on this paſſage the following note, in the margin:

'La deduction ſuivante me ſemble montrer, que chacune lance n'etoit qu'un homme tant d'un côte que d'autre.'

† Nogent ſur Seine,—a town in Champagne, between Paris and Troyes, dioceſe of Sens.

‡ Pont ſur Seine,—a town in Champagne, dioceſe of Sens, election of Nogent.

the ſecond under the lord John de Châlons and the count de Jouy; the third under the count de Janville*.

Sir Euſtace, who was in the midſt of his people, ſaid to them; 'Gentlemen, let us fight courageouſly, and the day will be ours: we then ſhall be maſters of all Champagne, which was formerly an earldom. Perhaps I may in time do ſuch eſſential ſervices to the king of England, whom I hold as the rightful king of France, that he may confer this earldom on me.' He then called to him ſome young ſquires, ſuch as the courageous Manny, his couſin John of Paris, Martin of Spain and others, whom he knighted. Having diſmounted his men, he cauſed their lances to be ſhortened to the length of five feet, and placed his pennon before him, which had his arms, ermine, three humets in pale gules.

CHAP. CXCVII.

THE BATTLE OF NOGENT SUR SEINE, BETWEEN SIR BROQUART DE FENESTRAGES AND THE FRENCH, AND SIR EUSTACE D'AMBRETICOURT AND THE ENGLISH.

WHEN ſir Broquart de Feneſtrages, who was a bold and courageous knight, ſaw that ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt and his battalion were not inclined to quit their poſition, he ſaid, 'Let us

* Q. if not Joinville.

march

march to them, for we muſt fight whatever be the conſequences.' Upon which, he advanced with his battalion.

Sir Euſtace received the attack of this battalion in ſuch a manner, that he broke it and threw it into confuſion. At the firſt ſhock, he unhorſed upwards of forty, and would have completely routed them, if the ſecond battalion of the French had not immediately moved forward to their aſſiſtance, who, having rallied them, collected all the ſtragglers together. Upon this, the Engliſh archers began to uſe their bows, and ſo well, that none dared to come within the reach of their arrows. The third battalion of the French now advanced on their flank, to ſupport the other two; and the engagement was very ſharp and bloody, but the French were three to one.

Sir Euſtace ſtruck to the ground four of the moſt vigorous of his enemies with the ſpear he had in his hand; which was no ſooner perceived by ſir Broquart de Feneſtrages, than he flung his lance over the heads of all thoſe that were between him and ſir Euſtace, and, hitting him on the viſor of his helmet, it penetrated through, and broke three of his teeth: this, however, did not prevent ſir Euſtace from continuing the combat.

The Engliſh had the advantage of the hill, and they kept ſo cloſely together that they could not be broken: the French were on horſeback, the Engliſh on foot.

The archers had retreated, in a battalion by themſelves, to ſomewhat higher ground, and ſhot

briſkly againſt the French; and when the French attempted, by marching about, to ſurround them, they kept their front to face the enemy. At this time, however, the French infantry, who could not make ſuch haſte as the men at arms, arrived. This infantry were full nine hundred men, and, being armed with lances and large ſhields, broke through the line of the archers, and flung them in diſorder; for their ſhields were ſo ſtrong that the arrows made no impreſſion on them. They kept up the fight as long as they could; but, being thrown into confuſion, the ſecond battalion of the French men at arms gallopped after them, and ſlew them all. This ſecond battalion then went to the boys who were guarding the Engliſh horſes, and killed or made priſoners the greater part of them, for very few eſcaped.

During this time, the two other battalions of the French were engaged with the Engliſh; and in the end they broke them, that they never were able to rally: the pennon of ſir Euſtace, which was their ſtandard, was taken and torn to pieces. When the Engliſh were thrown into confuſion, many were beaten down, and the French made priſoners at their choice. Sir Euſtace fell into the hands of a knight who ſerved under the count de Vaudemont, whoſe name was ſir Henry de Quenillart, to whom he ſurrendered himſelf, and who had great difficulty to ſave his life; for the common people of Troyes wanted to put him to death for the gallant deeds of arms he had performed in Champagne.

Lord

Lord John de Paris and lord Martin of Spain were alſo made priſoners, as well as many other knights and eſquires. Thoſe that were able to eſcape fled to the garriſon of Nogent; but very few were ſo fortunate, as almoſt all were ſlain or taken.

Sir Courageous de Manny* was left for dead on the field of battle, and by this means forgotten: but after the defeat, and when all the French were retired, he who had been grievouſly wounded, and more than half killed, raiſed his head a little, and ſaw nothing but dead bodies around him. He then got up as well as he could, and, placing himſelf on his ſitting, looked about to ſee if he were far from Nogent, which had an Engliſh garriſon; and, by crawling on his hands and knees, in about an hour's time he came to the foot of the tower of Nogent. He made ſigns to the garriſon, that he was of their party. Upon which, they carried him into the fortreſs; and, by dreſſing and ſewing up his wounds with much care, he was completely cured.

This engagement took place in the year 1359, the vigil of the feaſt of St. John the Baptiſt.

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* I cannot find any thing relative to this monſeigneur Courageux de Manny in Dugdale's Baronage. Lord Walter Manny ſeems to have left at his death only one daughter, married to the earl of Pembroke.

Barnes ſays, he was couſin to ſir Euſtace and nephew to ſir Walter Manny, and was honoured always with the epithet *courageous*.

CHAP. CXCVIII.

THE PILLAGERS WHO HAD KEPT POSSESSION OF DIFFERENT FORTRESSES IN FRANCE BEGIN WONDERFULLY TO FALL OFF.

AFTER the defeat of Nogent ſur Seine, which I have juſt related, the country being cleared of the enemy, the French barons and men at arms returned to Troyes, carrying with them their booty; but the priſoners they ſent by different roads to ſeveral of the French garriſons, becauſe the common people at Troyes were deſirous of putting them to death.

When thoſe who had remained at Pont ſur Seine heard that ſir Euſtace, their captain, was made priſoner; that all his army were ſlain or taken; they packed up their baggage and ſet out as quickly as poſſible, for they were but a very few in number.

Thoſe alſo who were at Torcis*, Eſpoye†, Auſy‡, Mery§, and Pleuſy‖, and in all the forts that had been under the command of ſir Euſtace, did the ſame, and left them void, for fear of the biſhop of Troyes and ſir Broquart de Feneſtrages,

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* A village in Champagne, dioceſe and election of Troyes.

† A village in Champagne, dioceſe of Rheims.

‡ Auſſon is a town and village in Champagne,—Arcy le Pouſard, election of Rheims.

§ Mery ſur Seine,—a town in Champagne, dioceſe of Troyes.

‖ A town in Champagne, dioceſe of Troyes.

who

who were great warriors: they united themſelves with other garriſons at a diſtance.

Sir Peter Audley did not, for this check, quit Beaufort*; nor ſir John Segar, Nogent; nor the lord Albret, Gié ſur Aube†.

About this time, the lord John of Piquigny died in an extraordinary manner at his caſtle of la Herielle, within three leagues of Amiens: it was reported that he was ſtrangled by his chamberlain, and that ſir Luke de Bekuſy, who was of his council, died much in the ſame manner.

Near this period, as ſome of the ſoldiers belonging to ſir Peter Audley were riding through the country, they came to a good large village of the name of Ronay‡, which they plundered; inſomuch that, as the curate of the place was celebrating high maſs, an Engliſh ſquire entered the church, took the chalice from the altar, in which the curate was preparing to conſecrate the precious body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and caſt the wine upon the floor. Upon the curate remonſtrating with him for this conduct, he ſtruck him ſo hard a blow with his gauntlet upon the hand, that the blood ſpirted upon the altar. Theſe pillagers then marched out into the fields, and the ſquire carried with him the ſacred veſſels and the cloth.

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* Beaufort les Regnicourt,—a village in Champagne, election of Rheims.

† Gié,—a village in Champagne, election of Bar ſur Aube.

‡ Ronay,—a village in Champagne, dioceſe and election of Troyes.

He was, however, ſcarcely got into the fields, when his horſe began to caper, and to play ſuch violent tricks that no one dared to approach him: after many plunges, they both fell to the ground with their necks broken, and were immediately turned into cinders and duſt. His companions, ſeeing this, made a vow, that from henceforward they would never violate the ſanctity of any church.

The garriſon of Mauconſeil, not having any proviſions, ſold the place to the inhabitants of Noyon*, and thoſe in its neighbourhood, for about twelve thouſand gold moutons†, with liberty to go away in ſafety, which they did carrying off all that belonged to them. They withdrew into the fortreſſes of Creil, Clermont, la Herielle, Vely, Pierrepont, Roucy, and Siſſonne, which, for a length of time, had been held by the Navarre party; but, ſince the concluſion of the peace with the king of Navarre, they had remained with the Engliſh.

As ſoon as thoſe of Noyon were in poſſeſſion of Mauconſeil, they razed it to the ground.

Sir John Segar ſold alſo Nogent to the biſhop of Troyes, and gave it up to him for a large ſum of florins, which he was to receive, and had it ratified to him under the hand and ſeal of the biſhop. Upon this, he went to the city of Troyes, and diſmounted at the hôtel of the biſhop, who ſaid to him; 'John, you will ſtay with me two or three

* Noyon,—an ancient town in Picardy. Its biſhop is ſuffragan to the biſhop of Rheims.

† Moutons,—ſee note, p. 360.

days; and, whilſt you are courteouſly treated, I will prepare the money for your payment.' Sir John, who had come thither on the biſhop's word, agreed to the propoſal: but the populace began to murmur, and to ſay, 'How can our lord biſhop make ſuch a mock of us, as to entertain in his houſe the greateſt pillager of all France, beſides wanting to make us give him our money?' They then collected together, ſent ſtrong guards to each of the gates, to prevent his eſcape, and marched in a body of ſix thouſand, with arms, to ſlay ſir John Segar in the court of the biſhop's hôtel.

When the biſhop ſaw this, he ſpoke to them, and ſaid; 'My good friends, he is come here under the ſecurity of my paſſport; and you know that a treaty has been made between us, with your conſent: it would therefore be highly diſloyal to do any thing, under this aſſurance, that may be hurtful to him.'

However, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the biſhop, they forced into the hall and the apartments, in which they made ſo exact a ſearch that they found ſir John Segar, ſlew him, and cut him into pieces.

CHAP.

CHAP. CXCIX.

THE FRENCH REFUSE TO RATIFY THE TREATY WHICH KING JOHN HAD ENTERED INTO WITH ENGLAND.

I HAVE been a long time ſilent with regard to the king of England; but until this moment there has not been any cauſe for ſpeaking of him; for as long as the truce laſted, his people did not carry on the war in his name. The truce having expired the firſt day of May 1359, from that period the Engliſh and Navarre garriſons made war for him as king of France, and continued ſo to do daily.

It happened that ſoon after the peace between the duke of Normandy and the king of Navarre had been concluded, as has been related, the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, marſhal of France, returned to England; for he was not yet ranſomed ſince he was made a priſoner at Poitiers.

At that time alſo, the king of England and the prince of Wales came to Weſtminſter, to meet the king of France and lord James de Bourbon; when theſe four aſſembled together in council, and agreed on a peace, without any arbitrator between them, upon certain conditions which were written down, and alſo a letter was indicted to be ſent to France to the duke of Normandy.

The earl of Tancarville and ſir Arnold croſſed the ſea with theſe diſpatches, landed at Boulogne, and

and haſtened on to Paris; where they found the duke of Normandy and the king of Navarre, to whom they delivered their letters.

The duke of Normandy conſulted the king of Navarre on the ſubject of them, who adviſed that the prelates, nobles, and the councils of the principal towns ſhould be aſſembled, which was accordingly ordered.

It appeared to the king of Navarre, the duke of Normandy and his brothers, as well as to the council of ſtate, that the conditions of peace were too hard: and they gave an unanimous anſwer to the two lords who had brought them, that 'they would much rather endure the great diſtreſs they were in at preſent, than ſuffer the kingdom of France to be diminiſhed, and that king John muſt remain longer in England.'

When the king of France was informed they had not ſucceeded in their miſſion, he ſaid, 'Ha, ha, my good ſon Charles, you conſult with the king of Navarre, who deceives you, and would deceive forty ſuch as you.'

The king of England, on receiving their anſwer, ſaid, that ſince it was ſo, before the winter was over, he would enter France with a moſt powerful army, and remain there until there was an end of the war by an honourable and ſatisfactory peace.

He began making more ſplendid preparations than he had ever done before.

About this ſeaſon, which was the middle of Auguſt 1359, the lord John de Craon, archbiſhop of Rheims, the inhabitants of that town and its neighbourhood,

bourhood, with other knights and ſquires of the counties of Rethel and Laon, marched and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Roucy: they preſſed it ſo hard for five weeks, that the garriſon ſurrendered, on condition of ſaving their lives and fortunes. For this effect, they had letters, with permiſſion to go wherever they pleaſed in ſurety, under the hands of the archbiſhop, the count de Porcien and the count de Braine, who were there: but when they were ſetting out, the common people came forth to meet them, and ſlew the greater part, in ſpite of the lords, who with much difficulty ſaved the life of their leader, Hannequin François. Thus had the count de Roucy once more poſſeſſion of his town and caſtle.

CHAP. CC.

SIR EUSTACE D'AMBRETICOURT OBTAINS HIS LIBERTY BY A GREAT RANSOM.

SOON after the re-capture of the caſtle of Roucy, ſir Peter Audley fell ſick, and died in his bed, at the caſtle of Beaufort in Champagne, which cauſed great grief among all the followers of his fortunes. Upon this, the Engliſh and Germans, who were united in carrying on the war in the name of the king of England, conſulted together, and determined that they could not fix on a more proper leader than ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt, who was then recovered from his wounds.

They

They ſent Faucon the herald into the county of Vaudemont, to conſer with the earl of that name, and with the lord Henry de Quenillart*, who had made him priſoner, touching his redemption. His liberty was granted, on condition of his paying down twenty-two thouſand French livres for his ranſom. Sir Euſtace thus recovered his freedom; the different garriſons in Champagne and Brie having made a ſubſcription for that purpoſe, when each man cheerfully paid his part. He obtained his hackney and war horſe that he had loſt at the battle of Nogent, which had been ſent to him by the lady Iſabella de Juliers, counteſs of Kent, from England, out of her affection to him. The Engliſh alſo ſurrendered at that time the caſtle of Conflans† in Champagne, of which they were in poſſeſſion.

When theſe troops, who were carrying on the war againſt France, had thus ranſomed ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt, they elected him their chief, and all ſorts of perſons enliſted under his banner.

He made an excurſion into the Rhetelois‡, where no one had been before, and took by ſtorm the good town of Attigny§ upon the Aiſne, where they found upwards of a hundred tons of wine. They fixed upon this as the principal garriſon, and overran from it the whole country in the environs

* Barnes calls him ſir Henry de Quingey, but why, I know not.

† Dioceſe and election of Châlons, near Châlons.

‡ A country of Champagne, near Rhetel.

§ A market-town in Champagne, dioceſe of Rheims, and near Rhetel.

of

of Rheims: they pillaged Epernay*, Damery†, Touraine‡, and the town of Vertus§, where they met with very great booty; they placed there another garriſon, which ſcoured the country from the river Marne to la Ferte-Milon‖; whilſt thoſe of Attigny overran it as far as Meſieres¶ upon the Meuſe, Donchery**, and even to le Chêne Pouilleux††.

CHAP. CCI.

SIR BROQUART DE FENESTRAGES FORCES PAYMENT FROM THE DUKE OF NORMANDY, REGENT OF FRANCE.

ABOUT this time it happened, that ſir Broquart de Feneſtrages, who had been to the aid of the duke of Normandy and the French, againſt the Engliſh and men of Navarre, and had much aſſiſted them in their conqueſts, and in driving them out of their fortreſſes in Champagne, had been very badly

* Dioceſe of Rheims, eight leagues from Châlons.

† Damery,—a village near Epernay.

‡ I can find only Touraille, a village in Champagne, election of Chaumont, near Ligny.

§ A town in Champagne, ſix leagues from Châlons.

‖ A town in Picardy, dioceſe of Senlis, election of Creſpy.

¶ A ſtrong city in Champagne, on the Meuſe.

** A town in Champagne on the Meuſe, bordering on Luxembourg.

†† Cheſne Pouilleux,—a town in Champagne, in the election of [illegible], near Sedan,—made famous by the retreat of the duke of [illegible]vick, before Dumouriez, in the year 1792.

paid

paid for his aſſiſtance, inſomuch that there was owing to him and his men, for their ſubſidy, thirty thouſand livres. He ſent therefore certain perſons to the duke at Paris, who did not give them very pleaſant anſwers, for they returned without having been able to do any thing.

Upon this, ſir Broquart ſent a defiance to the duke and to all France, and took poſſeſſion of a handſome town called Bar ſur Seine*, where at that time there were nine hundred hôtels, and plundered the inhabitants; but the caſtle was ſo well guarded, he could not gain it. Having packed up his booty, he carried away upwards of five hundred priſoners, and burnt the town ſo completely that nothing remained but the walls. His men retreated to Conflans, which they had made their garriſon, and committed afterward more atrocious acts in Champagne than ever the Engliſh or men of Navarre had done.

When ſir Broquart and his troop had thus overrun and pillaged the country, there was an agreement made with them; and each man was paid even more than he demanded; ſo that ſir Broquart retreated into Lorraine, whence he had come, carrying with him all his ſoldiers: he left peaceably the kingdom of France and country of Champagne, after having done a ſufficiency of evil to each of them.

* A town of Burgundy, on the Seine, dioceſe of Langres.

CHAP. CCII.

SIR ROBERT KNOLLES MAKES AN EXCURSION INTO BERRY AND AUVERGNE. HE IS PURSUED BY THE GENTLEMEN OF THOSE COUNTRIES.

AT this ſame period, in the year 1359, ſir Robert Knolles prepared an expedition, conſiſting of three thouſand perſons including every one. With this army, he quitted the marches of Brittany; and having followed the courſe of the Loire upwards, entered the province of Berry, overrunning and deſtroying all that part of the country. It was reported that his intentions were to paſs through Auvergne, to pay a viſit to the pope and cardinals at Avignon, and get ſome of their florins, as the archprieſt had done before.

The gentlemen of Auvergne, and Limouſin, aſſembled in large bodies, to oppoſe this invaſion; in particular, the count de Foreſts, who brought with him four hundred lances; and they were very numerous when all were aſſembled.

Sir Robert Knolles and his troops, who were all called Engliſhmen, continued their march from Brittany unmoleſted, until they came to the borders of Auvergne. The lords of Auvergne, with their array, advanced to within a ſhort day's journey of ſir Robert. They obſerved, from a mountain where they had poſted themſelves, all that the Engliſh were doing. On the morrow, they marched to that part; there were only two ſhort country leagues between them; when they halted, and took poſt on a moun-

a mountain, and the Engliſh did the ſame on another: each army ſaw the fires the other was making. The next morning, the French decamped, and advanced ſtill nearer to meet them, for they were well acquainted with the country, and, about noon, took up their quarters on an eminence right before the Engliſh: the two armies were only ſeparated by a meadow of about twelve acres.

The Engliſh immediately drew up in order of battle, and placed their archers on the declivity of the hill, in the front.

The French lords then drew up their army in two battalions, each of which conſiſted of upwards of five thouſand men.

The count de Clermont, dauphin of Auvergne, commanded the firſt battalion: his name was Berault. He was knighted on the ſpot, and diſplayed his banner, which was quartered with the arms of Auvergne and Clermont*. There were near to

* In all my manuſcripts and printed editions, it is Auvergne and *Merquel.* Denys Sauvage ſays, that there muſt be ſome miſtake, and propoſes *Clermont* in lieu of Merquel, which, as he was count de Clermont as well as dauphin of Auvergne, ſeems to me proper. Barnes changes the word Merquel into *Marteques*; but he gives no reaſon or authority for ſo doing.

The counts of Auvergne added the title of dauphin, in rivalſhip to the dauphin of Viennois, 1167. How long they continued it I know not. The laſt dauphin of Viennois was Humbert, who ceded the title and his eſtates to the crown of France 1345, on condition of the heir apparent to that crown bearing it. Dauphin was formerly a title of honor, as duke, marquis, &c. is now.

his perſon, his uncle the lord Robert Dauphin, the lord of Montagu, the lord of Talençon, the lord of Rochefort, the lord of Serignac, the lord Godfrey of Boulogne, and many young ſquires from Limouſin, Quercy, Auvergne, and Rouergue.

In the ſecond battalion, were the count de Foreſts, the lord John of Boulogne, the count d'Auvergne, the lord d'Archer and his ſons, the lord d'Achon, the lord d'Uzes, the lord Reginald de Foreſts, brother to the count, and great numbers of knights and ſquires, with a thorough good will for the combat, as was apparent.

On the other hand, ſir Robert Knolles and his troops ſhewed an equally good countenance to engage.

Thus then they remained until the evening, each in their entrenchments, without moving, except ſome young knights and ſquires, who, in hopes of gaining glory by feats of arms, deſcended into the meadow, with the leave of their marſhals, in order to tilt with their opponents. He who conquered his adverſary carried him off priſoner. Towards night, each party retired to his quarters, and kept a good and great guard.

The lords of France held a council, and reſolved at the hour of midnight to deſcend the mountain, not on the ſide next the Engliſh, but by that which they had aſcended; when, by making a circuit of only two leagues, they would come to the oppoſite ſide of the hill where the Engliſh were poſted, which part was not high nor difficult of aſcent: they had hopes to arrive there ſo early, that the Engliſh would

not be all armed. Each lord was to give theſe orders to his own people: this, however, was not done ſo ſecretly but that the Engliſh were informed of it by one of their countrymen, a priſoner in the French army, who made his eſcape, and told ſir Robert Knolles of their intentions.

Sir Robert ſummoned a council of thoſe in whoſe opinion he moſt confided, who, conſidering the ſuperiority of the French forces, thought it not adviſable to wait for them. Upon this, their baggage was immediately loaded: they decamped, and were conducted by thoſe of the country whom they had made priſoners.

At midnight, the French were drawn up in battle-array, and marched according as it had been ordered. They arrived by day-break on the mountain, where they thought to have found the Engliſh: but, when they ſaw they had decamped, they ſent off ſome of their moſt expert and beſt mounted, over the hills to ſee if they could get any tidings of them.

They returned about nine o'clock, and reported that they had ſeen them on their march, named the roads they had taken, and added they were advancing towards Limoges.

When the lords of Auvergne heard this, they broke up their expedition, and each returned to his own home.

Very ſoon after, a treaty of marriage was entered into, and completed, between the gallant knight the lord Berault, dauphin of Auvergne, with the daughter of the count de Foreſts, whom he had by a ſiſter of the lord James de Bourbon.

CHAP. CCIII.

SOME GERMANS WAIT FOR THE KING OF ENGLAND AT CALAIS, TO ATTEND HIM IN HIS EXPEDITION INTO FRANCE, DURING THE TIME KING JOHN WAS IN ENGLAND.

DURING all this time, the king of England was making ſuch great preparations, for his expedition into France, that the like was never ſeen before: on which account, many barons and knights of the German empire, who had formerly ſerved him, exerted themſelves much this year, and provided themſelves handſomely in horſes and equipage in the beſt manner they could, each according to his rank, and haſtened as faſt as poſſible, by the frontiers of Flanders, to Calais, where they remained, to wait for the king of England.

It happened that the king could not come thither with his army by the time appointed, which cauſed ſuch numbers to remain at Calais, that there were no lodgings for them, nor ſtables for their horſes. In addition to this, bread, wine, hay, oats, and all ſorts of proviſions, were ſo ſcarce, that none could be had for money.

Thus did theſe mercenary Germans, Bohemians, Brabanters, Flemings, Hainaulters, both poor and rich, wait from the beginning of Auguſt until St. Luke's day; ſo that many were forced to ſell the greater part of their jewels. If the king had arrived then, they would not have known where to have lodged him and his people, except in the caſtle,

caſtle, for the whole town was occupied. There was alſo ſome doubt if theſe lords, who had ſpent their all, would have quitted Calais, for the king or any one elſe, if their expenſes had not been allowed them.

The king had not ſent for a fourth part of them. Some came out of good-will to him, in hopes of grace and favor; others, with the expectation of gaining from the plunder of France.

The king of England at laſt ordered the duke of Lancaſter to Calais, with four hundred men in armour and two thouſand archers and Welchmen. When the duke came to Calais, he was much rejoiced to ſee ſo many foreign lords, who made earneſt inquiries after the king. He excuſed the king for not coming, on the impoſſibility of getting all preparations ready for ſo large an army by the time he had fixed. He then told theſe lords, that a longer reſidence there would be of no ſervice; that as he intended making an excurſion into France, to ſee what he could find, he entreated of them to accompany him, offering to lend to each a ſum of money, to pay their landlords and other expenſes, as well as to ſupply them with as much proviſion as their horſes could carry.

They accepted the duke's propoſal, for they were aſhamed to refuſe it; and having had their horſes new ſhodden, and packed up their baggage, they ſet out from Calais in a magnificent train, accompanying the duke towards St. Omer. They might be about two thouſand men with armour, without counting the archers or footmen.

They paſſed by St. Omer, riding on towards Bethune*, which they alſo left unmoleſted, and came to Mont St. Eloy†, where there was a large and rich monaſtery, ſituated two leagues diſtant from Arras. Here they halted four days, to refreſh themſelves and their horſes, as they found a ſufficiency for both in the monaſtery.

When they had robbed and plundered the country round about, they advanced until they came to the town of Braye‡, which they attacked a whole day. A knight-banneret§ of England was ſlain there, with many others; for the townſmen defended themſelves valiantly, owing to a reinforcement which the count de St. Pol and the lord de Lameval, with others, to the amount of two hundred lances, had thrown into the back part of the town. When the Engliſh perceived they could make no impreſſion, they marched off, following the courſe of the river Somme, being in great diſtreſs for bread and wine, until they came to a town called Cheriſy||, where they found enough of both. They croſſed the river at this laſt place by the bridge, which was not deſtroyed, and remained there that night and the feaſt of All-Saints.

That day, a meſſenger brought the news to the duke, that the king was arrived at Calais, with

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* A ſtrong town in Artois.

† A village of Artois, dioceſe of Arras.

‡ Braye ſur Somme,—a village in Picardy.

§ Barnes ſays it was ſir Thomas Murrers, but gives no authority.

|| A village in Picardy, dioceſe of Noyon.

orders

orders for him and his troops to join him immediately. Upon which, they all returned to Calais. In this expedition was ſir Henry of Flanders, with two hundred lances. From Brabant, there were ſir Henry de Beautreſen, lord of Bergues, the lord Girard de la Harde and lord Franque de Halle*. From Hainault, the lord Walter de Manny and the lord John de Gommeguines. From Bohemia, ſir Walter de la Hautepomme, ſir Reginald de Boullant, the lord Godfrey de Harduemont and the lord John his ſon, the lord Duras, Thierry de Ferram, the lord Ruffe de Jumeppe, the lord Giles Sorles, the lord John de Bermont, the lord Reginald de Bergehes and many other noblemen. The Germans and mercenaries from ſtrange countries, I am unable to name; therefore, for the preſent, I ſhall be ſilent on that head.

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* Sir Francis van Halle was afterwards captain of Calais, and a commiſſioner for treating of peace with France. He was inſtalled knight of the garter in the 23d ſtall, in the room of ſir Otho Holland. *Buswell's Account of the Garter*, No. 50.

CHAP.

CHAP. CCIV.

THE KING OF ENGLAND LEADS A GREAT ARMY INTO FRANCE, DURING THE TIME THE KING OF FRANCE WAS A PRISONER IN ENGLAND.—THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE ARMY OF ENGLAND.

AS the duke of Lancaſter, with his barons and knights, were returning to Calais, to ſalute the king of England, who was impatient to ſee them, they met, within four leagues of Calais, ſuch a multitude of people, the whole country was filled with them; and they were ſo richly armed and dreſſed out, that it was a pleaſure to view their arms glittering in the ſun, their banners waving in the wind, and the whole army marching ſlowly in battle-array.

When the duke and the above-mentioned lords were come to the king, he received them very graciouſly, and thanked them much for their ſervices.

Shortly afterward, theſe mercenary Germans, Brabanters and Bohemians, having aſſembled together, informed the king, that, having ſpent their money, and ſold their horſes and armour, very little remained with them for his ſervice, according to the deſign of their coming, and that, if there ſhould be occaſion, they had not wherewithal to return to their own country: they intreated him, out of his generoſity, to pay ſome regard to their ſituation.

The king thus replied: 'I am but ill prepared at this place to give you a complete anſwer; and, as I imagine, you muſt all be much fatigued: if you will go and refreſh yourſelves in Calais for two or three days, I will conſider your requeſts this night, and to-morrow will ſend you ſuch an anſwer as ought to be ſatisfactory to you in reaſon, and according to my means.' Theſe lords then left the king and the duke, and advanced towards Calais. When they had marched about half a league, they met a great number of handſome waggons, and ſoon after the prince of Wales, who, as well as all his attendants, were moſt brilliantly armed, and in ſuch numbers that the whole country ſeemed covered with them: they marched ſlowly in cloſe order, as if they were about to engage in battle, and always a league or two in the rear of the king's diviſion, with their baggage and proviſions between them; which arrangement the foreign lords viewed with delight.

Theſe lords attentively conſidered this army, and reſpectfully ſaluted the prince, the barons, and the other lords that were with him. After the prince had courteouſly and handſomely received them, like one who knew well how to do ſo, on their taking leave, they informed him alſo of their poverty and ſituation, beſeeching him that he would have the goodneſs to attend to their neceſſities. The prince liſtened to them, and cheerfully complied with their requeſt. They then rode on, and came to Calais, where they took up their lodgings. The ſecond

day

day after they had been there, the king of England ſent them his anſwer by three worthy knights, who told them plainly, that the king had not with him adequate ſums of money to pay all their expenſes, nor what they might perhaps demand: that he had brought with him only ſufficient for the enterprize he had undertaken: that, however, if they thought proper to accompany him, and partake of his good and bad fortune, ſhould any ſucceſs enſue, they ſhould partake of it, and largely; but that he would not be underſtood as obliged to pay them any wages, nor any thing for horſes deſtroyed, or other expenſes which they might be put to; for he had brought an army from his own country equal to the buſineſs that he had undertaken.

This anſwer was not very agreeable to theſe lords, nor to their companions, who had laboured hard, and expended their all: they had alſo pawned their horſes and armour, having ſold every thing ſuperfluous through neceſſity. Nevertheleſs, they could obtain nothing except ſome ſmall ſums lent them to carry them home again. However, ſome of theſe noblemen choſe to remain with the king and ſhare his adventures; for they would have been blamed, if they had gone back to their own country without having done any thing.

I ſhall now point out the manner of the arrangement of the king of England's forces, which he brought with him for this expedition. It ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence, for ſo large an army had never left England before.

Previous to the king's embarking for France, he ſent all the French earls and barons, his priſoners, into different parts and ſtrong caſtles in his kingdom, in order to be more under command. He placed the king of France in the tower of London, which is very large and ſtrong, and ſituated on the river Thames: his young ſon Philip was ſent thither with him: but they were deprived of many of their attendants, curtailed in ſeveral comforts, and more cloſely confined than before.

When he was ready to ſet out, he ſummoned all thoſe who had provided themſelves with every thing neceſſary to attend him to France, to advance towards Dover, where they would find veſſels to croſs the ſea. Each man got himſelf ready as faſt as he could: there was not in England a knight, ſquire or man of honour, from the age of twenty to ſixty years, that did not go; ſo that almoſt all the earls, barons, knights and ſquires of the realm went to Dover; except thoſe whom the king and his council had ordered to remain, to guard his caſtles, bailiwicks, mayoralties, ſea-ports, havens and marches.

When all were collected together at Dover, and the veſſels ready, the king ordered both ſmall and great to aſſemble at a particular place out of the town, where he diſtinctly told them, that his intentions were to paſs into France, and never to return until he ſhould have put an end to the war, and obtained an honorable and efficient peace; that he would die ſooner than not accompliſh this object;

and

and that if there were any among them who diſapproved of what he had ſaid, he deſired they would return home. They all approving, embarked on board the ſhips, to the cries of 'God and St. George!' and arrived at Calais two days before the feaſt of All-ſaints 1359.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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